McLibel: A big lie about Big Macs?

December 26, 1994 - January 8, 1995

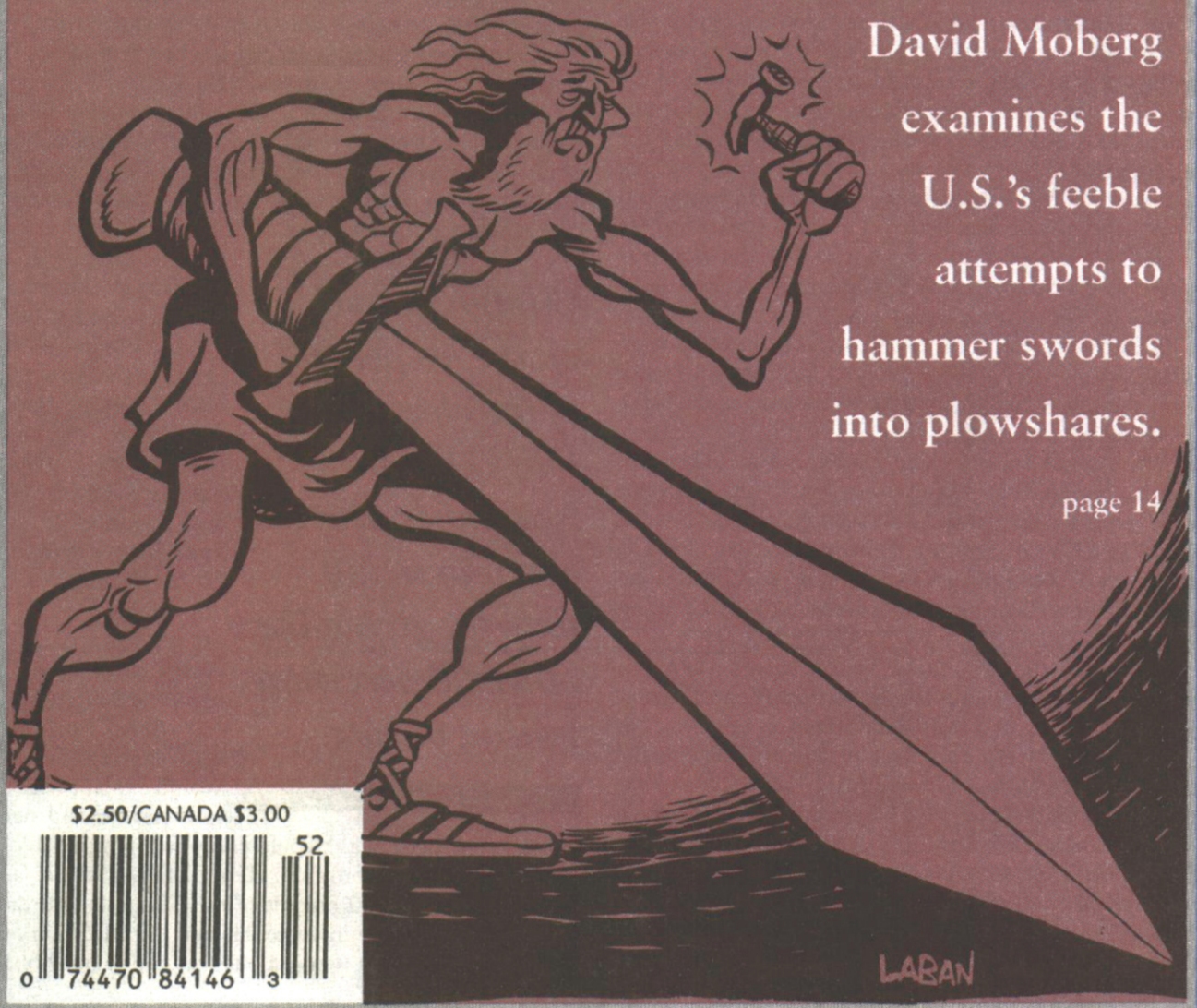
# In THESE TIMES

the alternative newsmagazine

# AVERSION to CONVERSION

David Moberg examines the U.S.'s feeble attempts to hammer swords into plowshares.

page 14




$2.50/CANADA $3.00

52

0 74470 84146 3

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

EDITORIAL

# CLINTON'S LUNGE TO THE RIGHT SPELLS DOOM

In 1984, a few weeks before the presidential election, Michael Dukakis—you remember him, the little guy in the big army tank—argued that it was not ideological differences with Ronald Reagan that mattered, but competence. This line of reasoning had already caused Dukakis to sink almost out of sight. So we asked: "Is Dukakis trying to lose this election, or is he just incompetent?" Some of our friends then accused us of being negative. If Dukakis lost, they implied, we would be responsible. While we appreciated this high opinion of our influence, we doubted that the Dukakis debacle could be laid at our doorstep.

Now, less than two years before the next presidential election, we seem to have Dukakis II in the White House. We have a president who seems to think that the way to beat the Republicans is to agree with them on most issues. And the president is not alone. Political geniuses in the Democratic Leadership Council (DLC) have concluded that the Democrats lost in November because Clinton had pandered to the party's core constituents and abandoned the program on which they say he was elected. The main spokesman for the DLC—a regular guest on the *MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour* and on many other pundit forums—is Rep. Dave McCurdy (D-OK), the expert on how to get re-elected who lost his once-safe seat to a real Republican in November. McCurdy keeps talking about the need for Clinton to move toward the center, which itself keeps moving to the right, and Clinton is following his advice.

In reality, since taking office, Clinton has steadily abandoned his pre-election promises—especially his economic pledges—and he has waffled and then collapsed on social issues. The firing of Surgeon General Joycelyn Elders, a prime target of the know-nothing right, is just Clinton's latest example of unprincipled and fruitless capitulation to his enemies.

Elders was fired, the administration says, because she advocated teaching children about masturbation as part of their sex education. In a front-page article on her firing, the *New York Times* wrote that she had supported the idea of "teaching schoolchildren to masturbate," and that she had previously gotten in trouble for "advocating the legalization of drugs." These were both untrue statements, which the *Times* reporter must have known to be false, but which have the smell of an administration spin. In fact, Elders said in response to a question that, as part of their sex education, children should be taught about masturbation, just as she had earlier said that the legalization of drugs should be studied as a means to reduce both crime and drug use.

On their merits, neither of these positions can really bother Bill Clinton. The distaste can only be political. Yet he insisted that political considerations played no part in his decision to fire Elders. The Republicans, of course, praised him. Meanwhile, his most loyal past supporters in groups like People for the American Way and Planned Parenthood condemned him for trying to "out-Newt Mr. Gingrich."

But there's no need to worry about that. Gingrich is forceful, direct and confrontational, which is the basis of his success. Like Reagan, who remained popular even though most of his programs and pet projects were consistently unpopular with a large majority of the electorate, Gingrich has succeeded so far because he seems committed to principle. Thus Clinton is his perfect foil. Clinton shrinks from every fight unless he is strongly backed by the financial and corporate interests that own him. Thus on NAFTA and GATT Clinton was a lion, but on the promises he made during his 1992 campaign—to create well-paying jobs, to cut working people's taxes, to ensure universal health care coverage, to convert military buildups to civilian production—he has been a lamb, or, more accurately, a chicken.

Clinton's recent call for a $25 billion increase in military spending over the next five years is a prime example of his weakness and pro-corporate bias. This is needed to assure that no other country can threaten our security or challenge our power, he says. But we could cut our military in half and still have no rivals. Unofficially, the White House concedes that this was a pre-emptive strike against Republican demands for even greater increases. But the pressure for more military spending came only from them, not the American people. A strong majority of Americans would rather see less military spending, not more, and a leader who would explain why that is desirable and necessary for our social health could easily carry the day.

***Clinton focuses on the 40 percent of the electorate that voted in November. But he can win in '96 only by giving the other 60 percent a reason to vote.***

But Clinton sees only the Republicans and the arms lobby. To him, the 60 percent of the electorate that didn't vote in November are invisible. He and the DLC think that is smart politics, but it is only a one-way trip to oblivion. ◀



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

**IN THESE TIMES**
"...with liberty and justice for all"

**Editor:** James Weinstein
**Managing Editor:** Jim McNeill
**Senior Editors:** Patricia Aufderheide, David Moberg, Salim Muwakkil
**Asst. Managing Editor/Books Editor:** David Futrelle
**In Person Editor:** Joel Bleifuss
**European Editor:** Diana Johnstone
**New York Editor:** Daniel Lazare
**Education Editor:** Alex Molnar
**Contributing Editors:** Bill Boisvert, Peter Karman, Ilan Stavans, Miles Harvey
**Washington Correspondents:** John Canham-Clyne, John B. Judis
**Eastern Europe Correspondent:** Paul Hockenos
**Far East Correspondent:** Dave Lindorff
**Film Critics:** Pat Dowell, Patricia Aufderheide
**Copy Editor:** George Hodak
**Typo:** Jim Rinnert
**Editorial Interns:** Jake Blankenship, Anastasia McRae

**Art Director:** Peter Hannan
**Associate Art Director:** Lisa Weinstein
**Asst. Art Director/Photographer:** David Schulz
**Cartoonist:** Terry LaBan

**Publisher:** James Weinstein
**Associate Publisher:** Beth Schulman
**Assistant Publisher:** Claudia Morris

**Business Manager:** Robert Larson
**Circulation Director:** Etelka Lehoczky
**Advertising Director:** Bruce Embrey

(ISSN 0160-5992)

Published 26 times a year by the Institute for Public Affairs, 2040 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60647, (312) 772-0100. Member: Alternative Press Syndicate. The entire contents of *In These Times* are copyright © 1994 by the Institute for Public Affairs, and may not be reproduced in any manner, either in whole or in part, without permission of the publisher. Copies of *In These Times'* contract with the National Writers Union are available upon request. Complete issues and volumes of *In These Times* are available from University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, MI. Selected articles are available on 4-track cassette from Freedom Ideas International, 640 Bayside, Detroit, MI 48217. All rights reserved. *In These Times* is indexed in both the Alternative Press Index and the Left Index. Publisher does not assume liability for unsolicited manuscripts or material. Manuscripts or material unaccompanied by stamped, self-addressed envelope will not be returned. All correspondence should be sent to: *In These Times*, 2040 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60647. E-mail: itt@igc.apc.org. Subscriptions are $35.95 a year ($59 for institutions; $61.95 Canada; $75.95 overseas). For customer service and to place subscription orders, call toll free: (800) 827-0270. Advertising rates sent on request. Available back issues are $5 each; specify volume and number. All letters received by *In These Times* become property of the newspaper. We reserve the right to print letters in condensed form. Second-class postage paid at Chicago, IL and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes to *In These Times*, 308 Hitt St., Mt. Morris, IL 61054.
This issue (Vol. 19, No. 3) published December 26, 1994 for newsstand sales December 26, 1994-January 8, 1995.

In THESE TIMES

CONTENTS

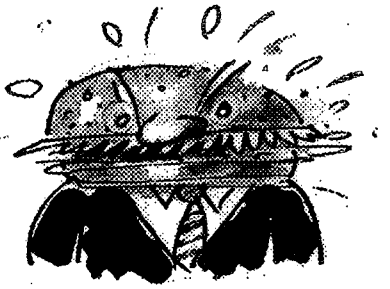
**Volume 19, Number 3**

## Big Mac attack

*Why McDonald's is taking two British anarchists to court*

JOEL BLEIFUSS

**12**



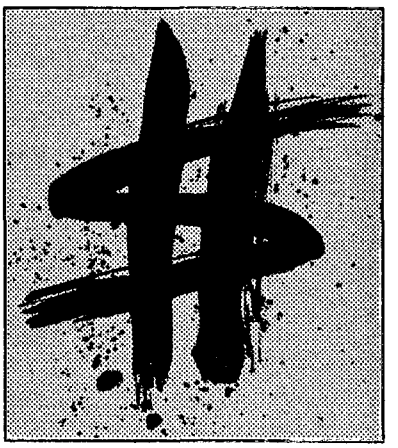



## Conversion inexperience

*U.S. defense firms are showing little interest in civilian life*

DAVID MOBERG

**14**



## Genocidal impulse

*Europe rewards Rwanda's mass murderers*

DIANA JOHNSTONE

**25**

### FEATURES

**At the summit** · Salim Muwakkil ..... **20**
**Bosnia's bridge too far** · Paul Hockenos ..... **28**

### REVIEWS

**Film: *Disclosure*** · Pat Dowell ..... **30**
**The best (and worst) books of 1994** · The Editors ..... **32**

### DEPARTMENTS

**Letters** ..... 4
**Sylvia** · Nicole Hollander ..... 4
**In Short** ..... 6
**Appall-O-Meter** ..... 6
**Media Beat** · Pat Aufderheide ..... 8
**Tomorrow's news** · Steve Brodner ..... 9
**In Person** · Joan Conrow ..... 10
**Etc.** · Bill Boisvert ..... 10
**Huge Mouth** · Peter Hannan ..... 13
**Classifieds** ..... 37



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# LETTERS

## The Polish miracle

Kenneth Zapp (*ITT*, November 14) reported that, quite contrary to the "Polish success" touted by Harvard economists, Polish government officials and Bill Clinton, the "reality for most Poles is bleak." He is right, but he understates his case.

The 16 percent unemployment rate offered by Zapp is a bad joke. I, too, have seen the rate "officially" quoted at 16.8 percent, but I am finding it difficult to reconcile that with other, no less official, reports that the unemployment rate for Poles between the ages of 15 and 24 is 37 percent, for those between 25 and 35, 27 percent, between 35 and 44, 31 percent, and between 45 and 54, 21 percent. I have to wonder just who is doing all the working.

But the unemployment rate, whatever it really is, is not particularly revealing in the current Polish context, given the fact that nobody knows the extent of illegal employment in Poland. The government guesses that 30 percent of the population works outside the system. And nobody even discusses the real issue, which is the extent to which Poles are serving as a cheap, underground workforce for their rich German-speaking neighbors.

Furthermore, in many cases those considered unemployed are actually better off than those with a legal job. The average monthly wage for all workers in private enterprises (not including agriculture) is $136 (somewhat less than the average in state-run enterprises). That is simply not enough to support even one adult, let alone an entire family. For the medium-sized one-family house where I live, we will be looking at a $200 bill for the last two months *for gas alone.*

Thus it came as no surprise to most people here when Lech Walesa complained last month: "I am not able to support my family even though I am president." He said that his family would soon be forced to stop paying gas, electricity, and water bills. And he was not kidding.

**Stephen Hibbard**
Mszana Dolna, Poland

## Criminal invasion?

I strongly disagree with Marc Cooper's attack on Proposition 187 (*ITT*, November 28), which passed so overwhelmingly.

Proposition 187 deals only with illegal immigrants, and from my point of view, these persons have no business here at all. They are, in fact, criminal invaders. To reward their criminality by using tax money to educate them is madness. We do not have enough money for regular citizens and for legal immigrants, so how can anyone argue, short of lunacy, that we should spend anything on illegals? It is to argue that citizens don't count.

Marc Cooper calls Proposition 187 apartheid. His historical analogy is less than brilliant. Apartheid was a racial division of blacks and whites, while Proposition 187 says that illegals should not have funds, no matter what race they are.

Opponents of Proposition 187 are saying, in effect, that the U.S. taxpayer has an obligation to assist the unlimited numbers of illegals who flood the country.

There are perhaps better ways to stop illegal immigration than Proposition 187. I am open to any and all procedures that will regulate our borders in a responsible manner. Marc Cooper seems to think there is no problem, despite a budget deficit here.

**Harry R. Major**
Hollywood, Calif.

SYLVIA by Nicole Hollander






LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

## Collective angst

*In These Times* normally has incisive reporting, but seldom does an entire issue (*ITT*, November 28) contain so many strong articles on a single theme. Except for a few mistakes (Marc Cooper's tirade against Dianne Feinstein mistakenly pits her against Bruce Herschensohn in the 1992 election, when in fact Herschensohn ran against Barbara Boxer) the issue is a *tour de force*. The best way to describe your post-election issue is as "an expression of collective angst."

We forget at our peril that a vibrant, effective two-party system implies different parties will be in power at different times. The Democrats' 40-year dominion over the U.S. House of Representatives has hardly been a good thing, leading to arrogance of power and a cavalcade of scandals. Several *ITT* writers hint at, but none comprehends, that the Democrats' 40-year dominion is what turned them into corporate lackeys and, in Marc Cooper's phrase, "GOP wannabees." Had they been on the "outs" a few times in that interval, they might have been forced to reconnect with their historic constituencies. Instead, the Democrats have become merely big-government capitalists.

One more subtle miscue is in David Moberg's "Brave Newt world." The error is best summarized in this sentence: "This year's populism vilified government and the poor (especially immigrants and minorities)—though these forces were hardly to blame for corporate downsizing, sliding wages, disappearing jobs and tighter money." Quite the opposite is true. Wages would be a lot higher were it not for the glut of illegal immigrants in California and elsewhere. Employers hire illegal immigrants to hold down wages and quietly finance their legal appeals and naturalization proceedings, e.g., Washington, D.C. restaurant owners hired lawyers to process the paperwork for their Salvadoran "indocumentados" under the 1986 amnesty law.

**Dino Joseph Drudi**
Washington, D.C.

## Imagining California

It is hard to know how to take Marc Cooper's analysis of the 1994 California election (*ITT*, November 28), since he bases his discussion of Diane Feinstein on a comparison of 1994 with her circumstances and tactics in her victory in 1992, arguing that victory was only possible because her opponent, "Bruce Herschensohn, represented the most extreme wing of the Republican Party." The problem, of course, is that Feinstein *did not run* against Bruce Herschensohn. She ran against moderate incumbent John Seymour and won quite easily, 54 percent to 38 percent. Barbara Boxer defeated Herschensohn. It makes one wonder about how well Cooper understands or reads California politics. Perhaps even more disturbing, however, is that none of your editors noticed this glaring factual mistake. I hope that in the future, *In These Times* will publish analyses of actual elections rather than contests that are the figments of your writers' imaginations.

**Arthur Sanders**
Department of Political Science
Drake University
Des Moines, Iowa

*Marc Cooper replies: While this correction is well taken, Sanders fails to explain how the mistake might undermine the central thesis of my story. In campaigns throughout her career, Feinstein—like most of California's Democratic candidates over the last 20 years—has studiously ignored the issues that once motivated the party's core constituencies. Unable to articulate a progressive alternative to the Republicans' hard-right message, the state's Democrats were vulnerable to attack from figures as absurd as Michael Huffington and Sonny Bono. If Sanders has any substantive criticism of this analysis, perhaps that can be the subject of a second letter.*

## Gays and the left

Rob Osler (Letters, November 28) is right to remind us that like any other group in our society—African-Americans, women, Hispanics—homosexuals are diverse in a multitude of ways. Just as it would be wrong to expect Phyllis Schlafly to support the ideas of modern feminism because she is a woman, or Clarence Thomas to support affirmative action because he is a black man, so it is wrong to expect gays to be liberals, or to have a common agenda beyond the desire to be accorded the same rights as every other group in society.

But that doesn't mean that there is no reason for us to argue that gays do have things in common with other oppressed or discriminated-against groups. First of all, gays, women, non-white minorities, environmentalists and others have common enemies— the Christian right, the leadership of the Republican Party, most of the corporate establishment. Second, the strongest supporters of gay rights in general are liberals and others on the left. Third, the culture of acceptance, in which gay people can be themselves in all their diversity, is part of the multiculturalism that the left generally defends and the right snarlingly denounces.

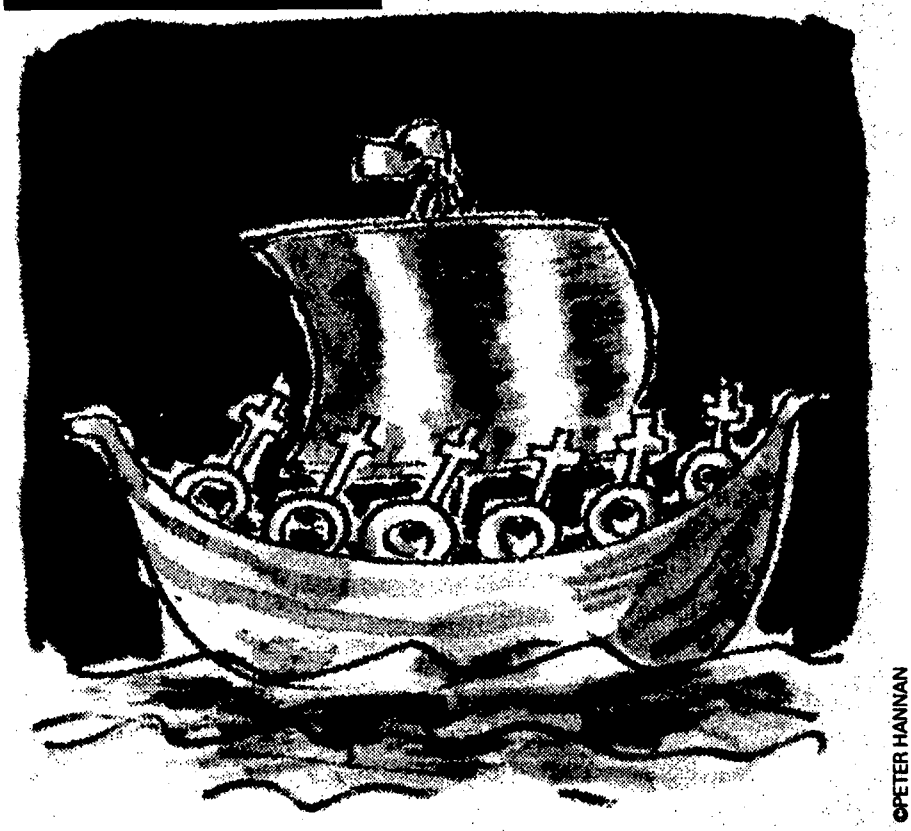
The issue, as I see it, is not, as Osler frames it, whether all gays "are of one, a priori, shared liberal mind." This assumption is both false and offensive. But I don't believe that was what Scott MacLarty had in mind in his November 14 Viewpoint. As I read his article, it seemed to me that he was simply—perhaps too simply—arguing for a politics of inclusion, for an approach to social action that would not only be more effective in furthering the gay agenda Osler endorses but also a more humane and cooperative politics for us all.

**John Wilson**
New York



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# InSHORT



©PETER HANNAN

## WOMEN COME TO POWER

In Sweden, 1994 is the year of *varannan damernas*, the "ladies' turn." The phrase refers to the custom on Swedish dance floors that every second dance is the woman's choice. But the choice for women in Sweden today is much more serious than picking a swing partner. With the Swedish economy in crisis and the passage of a referendum to join the European Union, political observers believe that if the Swedish welfare state is to be preserved, it will be women who do it.

In a campaign that stressed gender equity, the Swedish Social Democrats swept back into power in September after three years out of office. The 45 percent of the vote they won marks a dramatic turnaround from 1991, when they garnered just under 38 percent. Three years of austerity measures, privatization schemes and record unemployment, courtesy of a right-wing coalition




### Onward Christian soldiers

Pope John Paul II recently conferred a papal Knighthood on ex-Nazi Kurt Waldheim. The Pope awarded the prestigious Order of Pius IX to




Waldheim in recognition of his peacekeeping accomplishments as Secretary General of the United Nations. As an SS staff officer in the Balkans during World War II, Waldheim learned the "peacekeeping" trade by passing along orders that captured Yugoslav partisans be shot and that villages considered sympathetic to the resistance be burned to the ground and their inhabitants sent to internment camps.

### Anglo-Italian confusion

New York City School Board member Frank Borzellieri is trying to get certain books banned from school libraries, including a biography of Martin Luther King. According to the Center For Democratic Renewal, Borzellieri thinks school curricula need not discuss non-white cultures. America is a "white, Christian,






LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

British, Protestant nation," says Borzellieri.

## Just keeping my powder dry

Police in Fort Wayne, Ind., recently responded to a complaint from Joe Carlisle, who claimed that someone was shooting at his house. According to the Associated Press, police finally discovered that Carlisle himself had placed a loaded semiautomatic pistol in his oven, then absent-mindedly turned the oven on. When the gun heated up, the bullets fired through the oven door. Police could not establish why Carlisle had left his gun in the oven in the first place.




## Fortress America

An additional police force is being created in St. Louis with the sole task of patrolling three of the city's wealthiest neighborhoods, according to the Center for Democratic Renewal. The new force will beef up security in what police acknowledge is already the safest part of the city. The neighborhoods have been designated special tax districts to help pay for the service, but critics condemn the program as "special protection for the wealthy" when other neighborhoods desperately need more police protection.




APPALL-O-METER SCALE
1. Models Inc.-redible!
2. Infomercial irritating
3. Plausibly deniable
4. L.A.P.D. blue
5. Bob Dole-icious
6. Raoul Cédras-tic
7. Ollie North nasty
8. Holiday in Rwanda
9. Khrinovskyesque
10. Where have you gone, Joe Goebbels?

government, convinced voters to come home to the Social Democrats.

But the more significant achievement is the make-up of the new Swedish parliament. Women now hold over 40 percent of the seats in the Riksdag. This outcome resulted from the Social Democrats' decision to ensure that half of their parliamentary seats would be filled by women. Though the party is led by Ingvar Carlsson, a man, he announced after the election that half of his cabinet would be made up of women, including his deputy prime minister, Mona Sahlin, heir apparent as party leader.

At Sahlin's urging, all legislation must now be analyzed on the basis of its impact upon equality between men and women. And a special ombudsman has been charged with taking measures to promote equality in all workplace and political arenas. The goal, as Social Democratic politician Brigitta Dahl sees it, is to "assure that women do not have to choose between having a family and exercising power in society."

This shift in policy toward gender equality was not merely the result of internal party politics. A feminist movement, operating largely outside the established political parties, began to assert itself after the elections of 1991 reduced the percentage of women in parliament to 32 percent. When a group of prominent women threatened to establish a "women's party" for the 1994 elections and polls showed enthusiastic support for the idea, the ever-accommodating Social Democrats moved to harness women's political discontent. Their strategy paid off as the Social Democrats made dramatic gains among women in the September general election.

But translating political power into concrete social gains for women will not be easy. Sweden labors under one of the heaviest government debts in Europe, and interest rates are twice as high as Germany's. The Social Democrats believe they have little choice but to cut government expenditures and raise taxes. Where the cuts take place will form the terrain of debate in the coming months. Carlsson recently had to back off from a proposed cut in Sweden's lavish parental insurance system when women loudly protested the move as a betrayal of his campaign commitment to protect the comprehensive welfare system.

Public sector unions, in which women predominate, will resist budget-cutting initiatives that hurt women and low-wage workers, according to Lillemor Arvidsson, who heads the 660,000-member municipal employees' union Kommunal. "Women are the welfare system," she argues. "We provide the care of children, we provide the school meals, we care for the sick and elderly. When we fight for our members we are fighting to preserve the Social Democratic system we have built over the years."

Swedish women also confront divisive issues of trade and economic sovereignty. An odd alignment of Social Democrats, conservatives and export-oriented businesses persuaded Sweden's voters to narrowly approve entry into the European Union (EU) in the recent referendum. The debate split the country along gender and class lines, with men, the well off and better educated voters opting for Sweden's entry into the EU.

In supporting EU membership, Carlsson pleaded that Sweden could no longer address the wrenching dilemmas of unemployment and price stability on a purely national level. Sweden has devalued the krona five times since 1977, a cruel indication of its dependence on global markets and currency speculators. And the Swedish business community has become more aggressive in pressing its interests. Since the mid-'80s, Swedish capital has been fleeing the country. The domestic share of Swedish multinational corporations' production fell from 41 percent in 1986 to 34 percent in 1990. The day after



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the referendum, Christian Bratt of the Swedish Employers Confederation stated that, "The duty of our capitalists is to find the best place to invest, not to do what is best for the Swedish people. If that place is Estonia, then so much the better for Estonians. We are now competing with Southeast Asia, so this dream of a welfare state is coming to an end."

During the debate over the EU several prominent women led the "no" forces. Their great fear is that by joining Brussels, Sweden will lose the ability to control its own destiny and shape its unique domestic welfare policy. Their fears are not misguided. Throughout much of Europe, women comprise a smaller percentage of the workforce, have much lower representation in political institutions and less access to child and health care. But there is also a great optimism among Swedish women activists, a feeling that the future is theirs. When feminist author Maria-Pia Boethius was asked if women can save Swedish social democracy, she did not hesitate to answer, "Yes, we already have. Now it's on to Europe."

—Kelly Candaele

# COWED INTO SILENCE

Scientists are still in the dark about the potential health risks posed by the use of the artificial bovine growth hormone BGH (also known as BST). Now Monsanto, the company that developed BGH, is trying to keep consumers in the dark about whether or not particular dairy products contain the substance, launching an aggressive campaign designed to deter dairy retailers and producers from labeling their products as BGH-free.

Matters came to a head last February, shortly before Monsanto began marketing the growth hormone, when the company filed a suit against Swiss Valley Farms, a dairy co-op based in Davenport, Iowa that had posted signs indicating that its products were free of BGH. In the suit, the St. Louis-based chemical conglomerate accused Swiss Valley Farms of creating "a false and misleading impression that milk that comes from treated herds is somehow unsafe or inferior."

Within a matter of weeks, Monsanto upped the ante even further, sending a 30-page legal memorandum on U.S. food-labeling laws to an estimated 4,000 dairy farmers and retailers, and distributing a letter to retail grocers pointedly informing them that the company had already taken legal action against Swiss Valley for "misleading" labeling. The letter also drew attention to Food and Drug Administration (FDA) regulations that require that "dairy cooperatives, processors and grocers must be very careful in using labels or signs about [the hormone]."

Eager to ensure the viability of its BGH investment, Monsanto had sent a clear message to dairy producers and retailers: don't label. As Mark Kastel, a lobbyist for the Wisconsin Farmers' Union, notes: "[B]y filing the suit, Monsanto was able to hold up Swiss Valley and everybody else at a very critical juncture. Many small companies were ready to label, but they didn't because they were afraid they would be sued, too." While the suit with Swiss Valley Farms was eventually settled out of court this past September, Monsanto is still in court with a similar suit against the Pure Milk and Ice Cream Co. Monsanto's legal position is based on rather curious FDA regulations that stipulate that anyone wishing to voluntarily label their dairy products "BGH-free" can do so only if they make it clear that milk produced with

## MEDIA BEAT

By Pat Aufderheide

### Barbie liberation

**The holiday season saw a resurgence of the Barbie Liberation Organization (BLO), which claims responsibility for switching the voice boxes on hundreds of GI Joe and Barbie dolls. "We encourage 'shopgiving,' " says BLO head and arts activist Igor Vamos. "We purchase the dolls, surgically enhance them, and replace them on the shelves. The retailer sells the item twice, and the consumer gets a more interesting product." Vamos says the two-year-old BLO's objective is to "protest gender-based stereotypes," and welcomes recruits. He offers a how-to tape for $25, available through the Department of Visual Arts, UCSD, La Jolla, CA 92093-0327 (igor@ucsd.edu).**

### They're everywhere

**Between logos, labels and announcements, you're now assaulted by 16,000 ads a day. So writes critic Leslie Savan in *The Sponsored Life*, her new collection of *Village Voice* essays on advertising (Temple University Press, $16.95 and cheap at twice the price) In its travels from Joe Camel to GE to Nike the book is something of a tour of recent modern culture.**

**Product placement, whose creep has changed the very cinematography of movies, has infiltrated CD-ROMs, and commercials are beginning to litter the Internet. The next big target, according to the Center for Commercialism's AdVice (1875 Connecticut Ave. N.W., #300, Washington, DC 20009, studycommerc@igc.org), is the 1996 Olympic Games in Atlanta, where Olympic organizers are frantically seeking commercial sponsors.**



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

## Fading, fading...

**Even before congressional Republicans can sink their teeth into it, public television goes on dismantling itself. PBS has proposed a new way to sell its programs to individual stations. In the past, PBS sold all its programming to stations in a single package. But the new plan, which has huge support from stations, would sell lesser-known and more controversial programs separately from PBS' generally safe and sanitized "core" programming. The jettisoned material would probably include, among other shows, the well-regarded documentary series P.O.V. Stations would get the option to buy the non-"core" programs individually or not at all—the more likely choice. This packaging scheme further marginalizes the programming that makes public TV something worth paying taxes for.**

**In the meantime, the MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour has fallen further into the embrace of corporate America. After PBS decided to cut the NewsHour's funding, and as the show (soon to be minus the New York-based MacNeil, who's retiring) decided to abandon its production space at New York City's WNET, cable magnate John Malone came to the rescue. Malone, the owner of TCI, the largest set of cable operators in the country, had his subsidiary Liberty Media buy a two-thirds interest in the show.**

**TCI is the same company that forced NBC to derail its plans to set up a news channel that might compete with CNN, in which TCI has part ownership.**

© 1994 Pat Aufderheide

the hormone is not inferior to regular milk. It's not clear, of course, that this is the case. Critics charge that use of the hormone increases the risk of udder infections, and that antibiotics used to treat the infections may find their way into the milk supply, thus posing potential risks for humans. Even more alarmingly, some scientists suggest that the use of BGH may taint milk with substances that could adversely affect human growth and increase the risk of cancer. (See "The First Stone," January 10 and 24, 1994.)

Meanwhile, the FDA continues to maintain that the use of BGH does not pose significant health risks. By mid-October, the agency had received reports from 122 farmers who claimed that their herds had been adversely affected by the growth hormone. The FDA claims, though, that "these reports do not raise new concerns about potential health impacts on consumers."

Some legislators are attempting to counteract Monsanto's campaign of intimidation with new labeling laws. Rep. Bernie Sanders (I-VT) and Sen. Russ Feingold (D-WS) are calling for the mandatory labeling of foods containing BGH. Vermont, Sanders' home state, currently has such a law in effect. Wisconsin, Maine and Minnesota have voluntary labeling laws that guard against the threat of lawsuits such as those undertaken against Swiss Valley and Pure Milk, and approximately a dozen other states are in the process of adopting similar laws.

—Anastasia McRae

*Consumers wanting information about BGH in specific products can obtain a partial list of companies and grocery chains that have BGH-free products from the Pure Food Campaign, 1130 17th St., N.W., Suite 300, Washington, D.C. 20036.*






LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

IN PERSON



©ANNE E. O'MALLEY

# REPENT

*Kaleo Patterson issues a call*

The Rev. Kaleo Patterson, a native Hawaiian and Church of Christ minister, believes that the Earth's environmental crisis won't be solved until citizens of industrialized nations face the spiritual consequences that stem from centuries of subjugating the world's indigenous peoples.

"You cannot talk about the environment and the integrity of creation without also talking about justice and the systematic oppression of communities and poor people," says Patterson. "And you can't talk about justice without an analysis of what's going on with the land. We have to make the connection between people and the environment." Unfortunately, according to Patterson, that link is difficult to forge in a Western belief system that grants humans dominion over the natural world. Such a worldview has made it easier for people to oppress other people and plunder the Earth.

Patterson, a burly man with large, gentle eyes and a ready smile, believes that we must ensure the survival of indigenous people who have developed a more symbiotic way of interacting with the Earth and its creatures. This can be done by supporting any indigenous people who are in what Patterson terms a "right relationship" with their spiritual ancestors. For native Hawaiians, those entities are represented by Wakea and Papa Haumea, the deified progenitors of Hawaii's chiefs and priests. Restoring that reverence for creation is "the beginning of healing for this Earth," he says. "The survival of

ETC.

By Bill Boisvert

## Deserving poor?

While the Republicans were busy taking out their Contract on America, the Democrats may have passed up an opportunity to win a landslide—by *strengthening* their commitment to fighting poverty.

Just how popular that approach could be is highlighted by a new survey of Americans' attitudes toward poverty commissioned by Blackside Inc., producers of the civil rights documentary *Eyes on the Prize.* The October 1994 study, which was conducted by the Center for the Study of Policy Attitudes, included a nationwide poll of 900 randomly selected people, in-depth interviews and focus groups. Researchers also reviewed other polls on the same issues.

The results show that poverty remains a pressing concern for the great majority of Americans. Eighty-five percent of those polled said they were "somewhat" or "very concerned" about poverty, with 64 percent worrying that poverty is growing worse in America. A majority of respondents were willing to spend more on successful programs like Head Start, the Job Corps and Vista.

In contrast to conservatives' scapegoating of the "coddled" underclass, most people think the poor need more money than the government says they need. Fifty-eight percent thought the federal poverty line of $14,763 for a family of four is too low; when asked what it should be, their responses averaged out to $17,856.

Most respondents want anti-poverty programs to



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

**move welfare recipients into the workforce. But in defiance of the Clinton-Gingrich workfare combine, 83 percent are willing to pay more in taxes for job-training and employment programs, and 88 percent agree that "it's not fair to cut off benefits without guaranteeing a job." And, they insist, those jobs must pay a decent wage. Seventy-three percent felt that the current minimum wage of $4.25 an hour (down 33 percent in constant dollars from the 1968 level) was too low; respondents' estimates of a fair minimum wage averaged out to $5.41—and 76 percent wanted the wage indexed to inflation.**

**The survey also documents some persistent misconceptions in the public's understanding of poverty. Most conceive of the poor as inner-city minorities; in fact, two-thirds of poor people are white, and 60 percent live in suburban or rural communities. And depressingly, right-wing efforts to vilify poor women seem to be bearing fruit: while over 50 percent favored spending more to help children, the disabled and the homeless, only 29 percent favored increased support for mothers on welfare.**

**While 80 percent of those polled agreed that government has "a responsibility to try to do away with poverty," most feared that abuse, fraud and mismanagement would inevitably derail such programs. But the results suggest that a policy of expanding and improving anti-poverty programs, coupled with strong aid to the working poor, could mobilize broad-based support for any party willing to try it.**

the Earth depends on the survival of indigenous people. Once we lose them, we lose the whole key to the treasure base."

This respect for indigenous cultures must be accompanied by what Patterson calls a "cleansing" of social systems and institutions in the United States still polluted by the legacy of slavery and, more recently, the Cold War.

Finally, according to Patterson, society's obsession with the wonders of technology is alienating people from basic values. "People have got to get more spiritual," he says.

As he sees it, the Christian church is a big part of the problem. The church in Hawaii undermined the traditional indigenous philosophy of *aloha aina*, which entails an intrinsic respect and love for creation that extends to the land. Once the concept of spirituality was removed from the natural world, says Patterson, it was easy to "completely commercialize and commodify the environment, with no regard for the interconnectedness of everything."

Patterson has never labeled himself an environmentalist. The 40-year-old father of five says he is driven more by the desire to "make things right" through following "the path toward righteousness and enlightenment." He decries the church's aloofness from social conflict. "The missionaries really did a job on our Hawaiian churches. They made them devotional sanctuaries, but not places where we are fighting for justice. We're just playing church."

While attending Bangor Theological Seminary in Maine, Patterson joined the nuclear freeze and sanctuary movements. And when he returned to Hawaii and settled on the small island of Kauai, he began seeing a clear link between the mistreatment of Hawaii's indigenous people, who call themselves *Kanaka Maoli*, and environmental degradation throughout the islands.

Hotels were encroaching onto sacred Hawaiian sites. A rocket-launch pad was built on an ancient burial ground. Lands intended for Hawaiian homesteads were being used instead for public schools and military bases. As his awareness grew, Patterson's community-based ministry expanded beyond traditional spirituality to include broader Hawaiian issues related to sovereignty, culture, the land and the environment.

Some Hawaiian Christians consider him radical and even sacrilegious, while Hawaiians who reject Western religion criticize his continued affiliation with a Christian church. He takes such controversy in stride, even though his actions, which include being arrested while protesting rocket launches from Kauai's sacred Nohili dunes and demanding that missionary churches apologize for their role in the 1903 overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy, cost him his ministry at two Kauai churches.

"Prophets run into a lot of problems," Patterson says. "But they have a message: the need to refocus and change. In the work of making peace, there is conflict."

Patterson now directs the efforts of the Kauai-based Hawaii Ecumenical Coalition, a network that includes both the Hawaii and National Council of Churches and some 700 other churches, religious and political organizations and individuals throughout the world. The coalition is involved in issues including Hawaiian sovereignty, racism, responsible tourism and redress from churches for their role in the overthrow and subsequent suppression of Hawaii's indigenous people and culture.

"Reconciliation is the goal of my ministry, but you cannot have true reconciliation without dealing with justice," he says. "You can't reconcile with an oppressor who hasn't repented." —Joan Conrow



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE FIRST STONE

# WILL RONALD EAT McCROW?

**By Joel Bleifuss**

While Americans remain transfixed by the tawdry spectacle of O.J. Simpson's trial, across the waters in Great Britain a far more instructive courtroom battle is being waged. McDonald's, an icon of American corporate culture, is locked in legal combat with two scruffy anarchists, Dave Morris and Helen Steel.

As a result, the British judicial system is now grappling with questions both profound and absurd: Can McDonald's food cause cancer, heart disease and obesity in customers? Does the methane gas that humans fart, whether caused by McDonald's food or not, contribute to global warming?

Steel and Morris, as members of London Greenpeace (no relation to Greenpeace International), have distributed a leaflet that asks: "What's wrong with McDonald's?" And then answers: "McDollars, McGreedy, McCancer, McMurder, McDisease, McProfits, McDeadly, McHunger, McRip-off, McTorture, McWasteful, McGarbage."

To which McDonald's has responded: McLibel.

The tract has been distributed in front of McDonald's outlets in the UK for the past 10 years, and having been translated into several languages is now distributed internationally. Despite some hyperbolic ranting, the six-page leaflet raises basic issues. "What's wrong with McDonald's is also wrong with all the junk-food chains," the leaflet explains. "All of them hide their ruthless exploitation of resources, animals and people behind a facade of colourful gimmicks and 'family fun.' ... They are one of the worst examples of industries motivated only by profit and geared to continual expansion. This materialist mentality is affecting all areas of our lives, with giant conglomerates dominating the marketplace, allowing little or no room for people to create genuine choices. ... The point is not to change McDonald's into some sort of vegetarian organization, but to change the whole system itself. Anything less would still be a rip-off."

McDonald's attorney Richard Rampton denies that the company, which has outposts in 70 sovereign nations, practices "economic imperialism." He also takes issue with the charge that the company is involved in "wrecking the planet."

To prove its point the burger behemoth has gone to court charging Morris and Steel with libel. The trial began last June. By the time it draws to a close in one year, the case will turn out to have been the longest libel trial in Britain this century.

McDonald's, which racked up $24 billion in sales last year, had counted on the threat of an expensive suit to silence Morris, Steel and three other London Greenpeace members. Such pressure has worked before. Already McDonald's in Britain has extracted public apologies from the BBC, the *Guardian*, *Today* of London, the Scottish Trade Union Council, the Vegetarian Society and Prince Philip's World Wildlife Fund, among others. In fact, company McSpies secretly attended the production of a local theater company and, upon finding anti-McDonald's sentiment expressed, successfully demanded the script be changed.

The three other London Greenpeace members apologized in court for impugning the name of a burger chain whose golden arches shackle 14,000 neighborhoods around the world. But Morris, 40, and Steel, 28, refused to be cowed.

The "McLibel 2" had nothing to lose in a legal battle with the burger behemoth. Neither owns property. In fact both belong to the ranks of the "unwaged." Morris is an unemployed former postal worker and single parent, and Steel is an unemployed gardener. Both survive on state assistance. And they are unbending in their resolve. One friend who testified in their defense, describes them as "vegetarian anarchist environmentalists from hell."

Unable to afford a lawyer, Morris and Steel are running their own defense, with financial assistance in their case coming from allies such as Linda McCartney, who donated $1,500, and from McLibel support groups in Spain, Italy, Australia, New Zealand and the United States.

McDonald's maintains that the leaflet is "false in every material point." For starters, the company takes issue with Greenpeace London's assertion that the 490 million meals sold each year in McDonald's 521 British franchises are unhealthy.

The leaflet Morris and Steel helped distribute states: "What they [McDonald's] don't make clear, is that a diet high in fat, sugar, animal products, salt (sodium), and low in fiber, vitamins and minerals—which describes an average McDonald's meal—is linked with cancers of the breast and bowel, and heart disease. This is accepted medical fact, not a cranky theory."

Verner Wheelock, a nutritionist and McDonald's witness, took to the stand to defend a diet based on hamburgers, fries and coke. He admitted that McDonald's products were high in fat, saturated fat, sugar and salt. And he admitted that such a diet is associated with heart disease, high blood pressure, tooth decay and breast and colon cancer.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"We have now reached the point where we can be very confident that diet is the primary factor in the development of most of the degenerative diseases," said Wheelock. Yet he said it was the individual's responsibility to balance their own diet, and that McDonald's meals could be eaten daily with no ill effects. When it was pointed out that he had previously written that people should "avoid consumption of snack foods which were high in fat," Wheelock replied: "Anyone can change their views." And their employer. Wheelock became a McDonald's consultant in 1991.

Appearing as a witness for the defense was Steve Gardner, a former assistant attorney general of Texas, who described his state's battle in 1986 to force a recalcitrant McDonald's to comply with food labeling regulations. After being forced to provide nutritional information, the company instituted a year-long advertising campaign designed, the company said, "to neutralize the junk food misconceptions about McDonald's good food." But an internal company memo laid bare the real strategy: "We can't really address or defend nutrition. We don't sell nutrition and people don't come to McDonald's for nutrition."

The attorneys general of Texas, California and New York responded to this campaign with a request that "McDonald's immediately cease and desist further use of this advertising campaign." They explained, "The reason for this is simple: McDonald's food is, as a whole, not nutritious."

In Japan, McDonald's tried a different marketing strategy. The president of McDonald's Japan, Den Fujita, has stated that "the reason Japanese people are so short and have yellow skins is because they have eaten nothing but fish and rice for two thousand years. ... [I]f we eat McDonald's hamburgers and potatoes for a thousand years we will become taller, our skin become white and our hair blond."

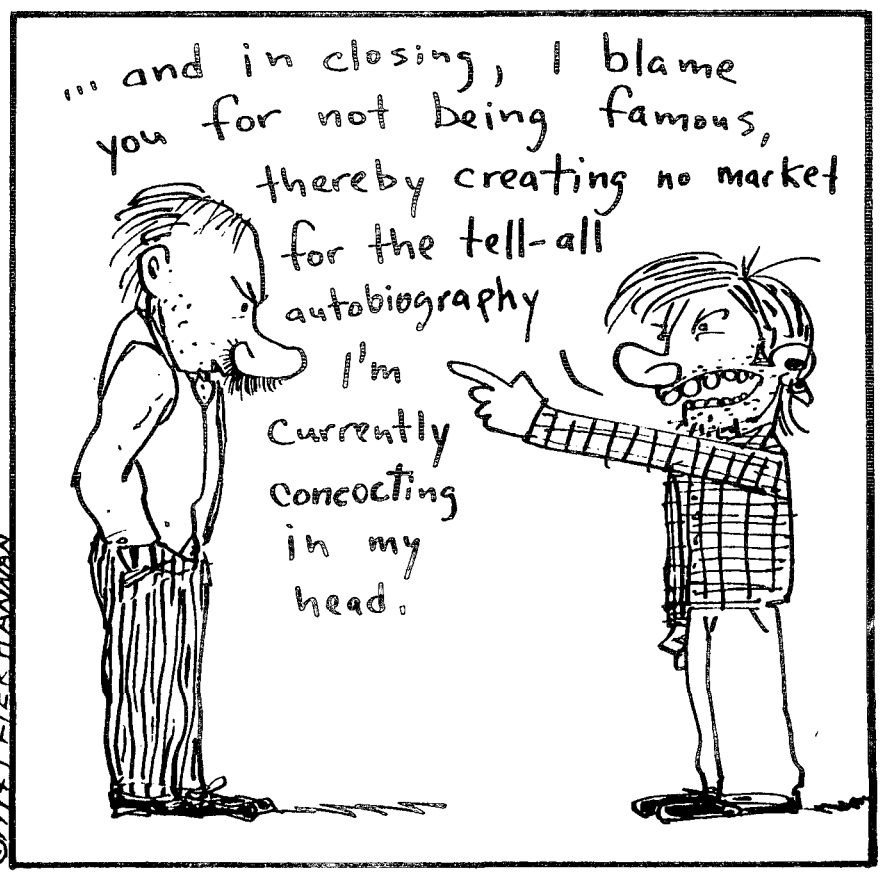
Also up for discussion at the trial was McDonald's use of foam polystyrene in its packaging. Ronald Walker, McDonald's expert on food additives, acknowledged that styrene can migrate from polystyrene packaging into food—especially fatty food—and he admitted that styrene was "possibly" carcinogenic to humans. In the body styrene can be metabolized into styrene oxide, which is "probably" carcinogenic to humans. Polystyrene packaging, the production of which is known to damage the ozone, is not used by McDonald's U.S. outlets. However, the company continues to styro-pack its food in many countries. In some nations, such packaging is still made with HCFCs, which damage the ozone layer.

The threat of global warming has also become a trial topic. Cattle, the key ingredient in McDonald's global menu, produce about 80 percent of the 80 million metric tons of methane that animals emit each year. Geoffrey Duxbury, a chemist at the University of Strathclyde, testified that human flatulence accounts for just a fraction of that total. "We do emit a bit of methane, but not very much," he told the inquisitive judge.

Still to come on the McLibel trial docket is a discussion on whether McDonald's has been lying to the public about using hamburger that comes from cattle raised on land that was once rainforest. A reporter from the London *Observer* is prepared to testify that McDonald's policy in Costa Rica is not to use cattle grazed on "recently" deforested land. Since it takes 10 years for deforested land to get to the point where it will support cattle, McDonald's appears to be playing semantic games.

After months of matching wits with the McDonald's legal team, Morris is tired but upbeat. "It's very hard work," he says. "The libel laws are a real uphill struggle for us, without any resources, but as the trial continues and more and more admissions are made by McDonald's, it gives us the motivation to overcome all the obstacles. We are putting McDonald's on trial." ◀

**THE ADVENTURES OF A HUGE MOUTH** by Peter Hannan






LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ECONOMY

# Conversion inexperience

***With few government programs in place, defense firms are showing little interest in civilian life.***

By David Moberg
LOS ANGELES

Tabloid television—and some federal bucks—helped Dana Spencer convert a small piece of the military-industrial complex to peaceful purposes. Though his project is the equivalent of beating a penknife into a garden trowel, it is nonetheless a triumph in an endeavor—military conversion—that is talked about far more than it is practiced.

Spencer is a manager at Hi-Shear Technology Corp., a small Southern California aerospace contractor that has lost nearly half its workforce during recent cutbacks in military procurement. In 1992, as he watched rescue workers on TV open a crashed car with a giant "jaws of life" metal cutter, he suddenly thought, "Heck, we could do better than that."

For nearly two decades Hi-Shear had produced a device that used a small explosion to propel a blade that sheared heavy bolts linking the stages of a missile as they separated in flight. Pursuing Spencer's hunch, company engineers designed a rescue cutter that would use the same technology to cut through twisted auto wreckage. In 1993 the company won $780,000 in grants under the federal government's Technology Reinvestment Project (TRP). Administered by the Defense Department's Advanced Research Projects Agency (ARPA), TRP aims to fund "dual use" technologies that companies can produce for both military and commercial markets. Although its director specifically says TRP is not about conversion of the defense industry (and the project sets its priorities according to military needs), TRP is widely regarded as the heart—albeit a weak heart—of the Clinton administration's conversion strategy.

Hi-Shear sold its first cutters to the local fire department in Torrance, Calif., earlier this year. Since Hi-Shear's cutter is lighter, cheaper and more versatile than the competition's, the company hopes to both divvy up the existing market and expand demand for rescue equipment. Early production required no new hiring, but Hi-Shear executives expect its rescue cutter will soon generate around 40 new jobs plus outside machine-shop work. They also hope their pyrotechnic device can be used in other products, such as auto airbags and high security locks.

Yet Hi-Shear's shift from Cold War contracting to mainstream commerce required more than simply adapting aerospace technology to mundane uses. "It required a radical change," says president Tom Mooney. In producing for a commercial market, "you're continually re-engineering to get the product to work better for less cost. If you build for the government, once you get something that works, they don't ever want to change it." Unlike Hi-Shear, many defense firms simply haven't been able to figure out how to compete in conventional markets. Others, especially prime defense contractors such as McDonnell Douglas, Northrop Grumman and Martin Marietta (which is merging with Lockheed), have never really tried.

Despite the loss of about 1.2 million defense jobs since the late '80s, managing the transition from the military boom of the Reagan years to the post-Berlin Wall world of the '90s has not been a central political issue. Since peaking

*This story is the first in a three-part series on attempts to restructure America's military-industrial complex. The first two stories will deal with efforts by defense contractors to retool for civilian work. The final story will focus on the closing of American military bases and the communities that are learning to live without them. This series was made possible by a grant from the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation.*



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in 1985, defense budget authority—the money Congress authorizes for immediate military spending and future weapons purchases—has dropped by about 35 percent (although actual spending peaked later and has dropped more slowly). California—where defense spending doubled in the '80s, then fell by about one-fifth—was among the areas hardest hit, even though it still gets 20 percent of all defense dollars.

These defense layoffs contributed to the lingering national recession of the early '90s, though the effects were felt most acutely in California and the Northeast. Neither the government nor the biggest defense contractors were able to devise programs to redirect the industry's efforts to peaceful ends. Many prime contractors, especially in aerospace, decided instead to shrink and consolidate, hoping to grab a larger share of a smaller market—rather than wait for it to grow again.

Conversion was political anathema to the Bush administration (and many in Congress), a form of dreaded "industrial policy." That kneejerk response failed to recognize that defense spending itself has been the nation's covert industrial policy since the end of World War II, giving a major boost to civilian aircraft, communications and electronics industries (including computers), as Ann Markusen and Joel Yudkin argued in their perceptive 1992 book, *Dismantling the Cold War Economy*.




©TERRY LABAN

The prevailing view was, as ever, "leave it to the market." Eventually jobless rates did decline nationwide, though less so in areas like Los Angeles, where official unemployment in October was 7.8 percent—nearly 50 percent higher than the national average. But these figures don't reveal the extent to which many defense workers took lower-paying jobs, redefined themselves from "unemployed" to a "consultant," or simply dropped out of the labor market prematurely.

The failure to more systematically employ defense industry workers and resources in new tasks has, along with pressures from the Pentagon and conservatives, made further defense cuts more difficult to pursue. Over the first two years of his administration, Bill Clinton dramatically slowed the rate of decline in defense spending. Now, with Clinton's capitulation to Republican demands for a beefed-up military, real defense spending will probably start growing again. Yet even at current levels, as the Washington-based Center for Defense Information notes, U.S. military spending is already close to the average maintained during the Cold War.

During the 1992 presidential campaign, when talk of a peace dividend was politically fashionable, Clinton promised additional investment in public infrastructure and education, which could have helped the economy absorb defense workers. Instead, nearly all the savings from defense cuts have gone into deficit reduction. In a March 1993 speech before Westinghouse workers, Clinton promised to spend $19.5 billion over five years for defense conversion. He proposed policies to develop new technologies from military research, some new money to aid workers and communities in managing base closings, and, to a lesser extent, defense-industry shrinkage.

But most of the package consisted of old programs, such as early retirement payments, in new wrappings. Even with its budget tripled to $30 million, the Pentagon's Office of Economic Adjustment received only half of the money allotted to Junior ROTC. (Incredibly, JROTC is counted as a conversion program.) Michael Oden, a fellow in Rutgers' Project on Regional and Industrial Economics, concluded that from 1990 to 1994 only $2.3 billion in Pentagon spending could plausibly be counted as conversion spending. That is equal to the development cost of one Sea Wolf, a nuclear submarine that George Bush killed but Bill Clinton resurrected. "It's obvious this isn't a particularly serious program when you look at the spending compared to the cuts," Oden says.

One of the few new ventures established by the Clinton administration is TRP, the program that helped Hi-Shear implement its conversion plans. TRP has received roughly half a billion dollars a year from fiscal 1993 through 1995



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to underwrite dual-use research and provide technical assistance and training in manufacturing.

Yet as a conversion strategy, TRP is deeply flawed. It is run by the military and dominated by military objectives (for example, neither energy efficiency nor mass transit qualify as dual-use objectives). Dominick Bertelli, coordinator of a labor and community coalition known as the Workplace Economic Conversion Action Network, argues that TRP is simply a way for the military "to continue work it would have been doing anyway [by putting] a civilian face on it."

Most TRP money goes to big firms that have shown little interest in commercial reorientation; only this fall did Congress make job creation an objective for TRP and allow labor unions to apply for funds. Rutgers' Oden also argues that, with rare exceptions, it is very tough for companies to make products that meet both military needs and commercial demands at the same time. Airplane production is one of the few areas where dual-use production makes some sense, but unfortunately for aerospace workers airlines were losing money and scaling back orders precisely when defense cuts hit.

In addition, neither Congress nor the Pentagon has dramatically reformed the military's burdensome procurement practices that discourage buying off-the-shelf products. Procurement reformers had hoped that the Pentagon could simply buy more off-the-shelf commercial technology.

More fundamentally, even at its best TRP focuses on developing specific critical technologies, a strategy pursued more broadly through programs of the Commerce Department and the national laboratories. But developing new technologies is only one aspect of conversion, and in most cases not the most important. Technology development usually takes many years to yield significant employment. For workers and communities, the highest priority is job creation. And for many businesses, the highest priority is directing the managerial and workplace culture away from the strange world of military production.

Finally, TRP's obsession with figuring out nifty uses for military technology—which often has no civilian market—is not the socially or economically most productive approach to conversion. Government, working with business and labor, needs instead to define new social needs and help develop industries to satisfy them. Assume, for example, that energy efficiency is both an environmental and economic imperative, as well as a market opportunity. A positive conversion strategy would draw on the talent and resources released by the shrinking defense industry to promote sustainable technologies different from the narrow, military-dominated approach to production. It would generate more jobs as well, especially in the short run.

Bertelli is ready to scrap TRP. "It creates the illusion of conversion without delivering," he says. However, Oden argues that about a third of TRP spending has been innovative and productive. Unfortunately, that part will be most vulnerable to Republican attacks as "industrial policy."

Even at their best, TRP and related federal programs operate on such a small scale that they have only marginal influence. At this point, most conversion of industry, or lack thereof, relies on private business decisions about their market opportunities. On their own, military producers are responding with strikingly different strategies depending on where they fit in the old hierarchy of prime contractors, subcontractors and suppliers.

The consulting firm of A.T. Kearney reported in a 1993 study that about 80 percent of prime contractors—McDonnell Douglas, Northrop Grumman, et al—were primarily sticking with defense markets, with about 10 percent expanding to other government customers and 10 percent converting to commercial markets. Unlike the lower rungs of the defense industry, the prime contractors also strongly believed new "threats" would emerge to revive the military business.

The story was much different with the small to mid-sized subcontractors and suppliers. Among those firms, 46 percent were expanding to other government customers, 25 percent were staying with defense and 29 percent were converting to non-government markets. Three-fifths of the smaller suppliers, however, were converting away from defense to commercial work, with one-fifth pursuing other government markets and another fifth remaining mainly in defense.

Conversion advocates had long argued for advanced planning, involving worker committees, to prepare for civilian work, but the defense industry was largely opposed, Congress never passed proposed legislation requiring planning and the theory was never tested.

Yet perhaps planning would not have worked with some defense companies. There is widespread belief among both critics and stalwarts of the industry—such as former Lockheed chairman Roy Anderson—that many prime contractors are culturally and organizationally incapable of dramatic change. Some companies, like Lockheed, have pursued other government markets, opting for a strategy of diversification rather than conversion. Others, like Hughes Electronics and Rockwell, already had some ties to commercial markets and are expanding commercial work.

But even when engineers have identified commercial possibilities for defense technologies on their shelves, executives often see these products as far removed from their traditional core business. They are also typically uninterested in small to medium-sized markets. At one conference, Lockheed's director of development reportedly said the company was staying in aerospace because "we need five $500 million businesses, not 50 $50 million businesses."

The best hope to overcome this resistance, many strategists believe, is to spin off new small businesses owned by some of the former prime contractor employees and possibly helped by the parent with initial financing or else simply selling the ideas to another business. For example, TRW spun off a software division, in which it has a diminishing financial stake, which has turned into Sybase, a fast-growing, $1.5 billion firm.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In many cases, however, it is hard for these spin-offs to find initial capital. Fred Haney, a former venture capitalist who failed to get TRP funding for his plan to develop businesses that could commercialize military technology, has found that small businesses can't easily raise needed money, and big companies won't invest unless there's a huge, strategically relevant market. For example, Titan Corporation in San Diego thought its Star Wars-funded X-ray work could be translated into an "X-ray needle" that would treat tumors from inside the body. But, Haney said, the company couldn't find a buyer and "didn't want to spend more money, which is pretty typical."

One defense company spin-off success is NuReality, part of a complex of high-tech companies started by Tom Yuen, one of the co-founders of AST Research, a highly successful computer business. NuReality began as a division of Hughes Electronics, which is owned by General Motors. The division spent $10 million over eight years in developing sound systems for Boeing 747s. But Hughes management changed and decided to divest any non-core business with less than $50 million in sales.

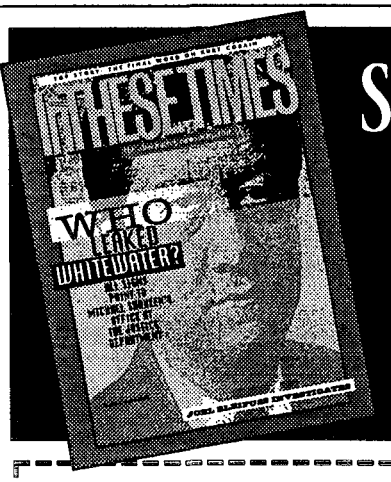
A team of Hughes employees and outside investors bought the division in 1993, but they were undercapitalized. Yuen heard the remarkable three-dimensional sound their technology produced and bought a majority share. He then formed NuReality to produce speakers for high-end and mid-range audio systems, computers and video games.

Yuen has hired some laid-off defense engineers and workers, relied on former defense worker consultants for research, and taken advantage of slack times at local electronic subcontractors to do much of the preliminary assembly work. Although Yuen's four companies now employ only about 50 workers, the number may double next year. And additional jobs have been created in what he calls the company's "virtual" manufacturing and engineering divisions—the network of suppliers, contractors and consultants in Orange County that he works with.

Despite Yuen's hope for his own and other start-up companies emerging from the defense industry wreckage, he sees a bleak landscape for most workers. "Unfortunately, I don't think there is a solution," he said. "Many new victims will be created as we go through downsizing, not just of the military. We are forced by global competition to be efficient. People realize they are putting in longer work hours with increased stress and pressure. It's reducing the quality of life, but there's not much that can be done about it." Yet advocates of more aggressive conversion initiatives say something can be done about it: government can define new public missions and thereby generate new industries and employment.

For the small traditional defense suppliers and subcontractors, who would be delighted with a product that earned $50 million a year, the choice is usually convert to commercial work or die.

Such conversion usually requires radical revamping of the whole business. For example, since the '80s the defense share of metal machining and forging work at Ace Clearwa-


Subscribe to ITT!

☐ NEW SUBSCRIPTION. You'll receive your first issue in 4-6 weeks. Please check price and terms below. AST1

☐ RENEW NOW. We'll extend your current subscription for as long as you like. This saves you worries about expiring and helps us save money and the environment by not sending renewal notices and bills. ART1

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY/STATE/ZIP

☐ MOVING: Fill out old address above, and new address below. Allow 4-6 weeks for change.

NEW ADDRESS

CITY/STATE/ZIP

☐ WHAT A GREAT GIFT IDEA! (Just try and find a gift with more thought behind it. Fill out your name above and the lucky person's name here.) XSTH1

NAME OF RECIPIENT

ADDRESS

CITY/STATE/ZIP

PRICES & TERMS

☐ One year, 26 issues: $35.95 ☐ Six months, 13 issues: $19.95

☐ Institutional, one year: $59.00

☐ Payment enclosed ☐ Bill me Charge my ☐ Visa ☐ MC

ACCOUNT NUMBER / EXPIRATION DATE

Canadian orders, add: $27.50 (one year), $13.50 (six months) postage.
All other foreign orders add: $41.00 (one year), $20.50 (six months).

**Mail to: IN THESE TIMES Customer Service,**
**308 Hitt St., Mt. Morris, IL 61054**
**Or call: 1-800-827-0270**




LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ter Enterprises in Torrance has shrunk from about 30 percent to 8 percent of the company's business. Though sales have been flat, Ace Clearwater president Kellie Dodson, the owner's daughter, has invested in computer-aided design and computerized coding of all work to control costs. After getting advice from the California Manufacturing Technology Center, a training and technical assistance program funded through TRP, she hired its consultant as her "director of change."

Producing for the commercial market is unstable, making it hard to plan investments in capital and training. Ace Clearwater vice president Gary Johnson says as his corporation seeks greater flexibility, "we've got to make parts faster and cheaper—and fewer," Johnson says. "We used to get orders for 600 parts. Now it's more likely 16."

***Government, working with business and labor, needs to identify new social needs and develop industries to satisfy them.***

Ace Clearwater's negotiation with a furniture maker demonstrates how the absence of the long-term relationships that are common in defense work makes business difficult. Tired of problems with a Taiwan supplier, the furniture company started talks with Ace Clearwater about making metal table legs. Dodson thought she had a deal, but outside investors bought the company and opened a plant in Mexico. Then the furniture company returned again to Ace Clearwater for bids but wouldn't promise a five-year contract.

"There was no sense of loyalty, commitment, long-term agreement," she said. "This is particularly shocking when you're coming from aerospace. On the table legs, they'd have moved for half a cent." After a year and a half of talks and expenses, Dodson said she wasn't interested in any deal.

Many business strategists now celebrate small, entrepreneurial firms as the only hope for conversion. But these small firms virtually always exist in webs of relationships, often within a particular industry. Major firms tend to set the direction for the industry, even if it's by deciding whether or not to buy innovations from the small companies. The chaotic relations among businesses in the United States, typified by Ace Clearwater's experience, make relying on small firms to bring about conversion a risky proposition.

Yet there are ways that the government can play a role in nurturing alliances that can hasten conversion or the emergence of new industries. The government can mobilize resources—by funding research and development as well as guaranteeing initial purchases—to help launch new industries or products.

By far the most ambitious alliance drawing on this model is Calstart, the brainchild of entrepreneur Lon Bell, a former rocket scientist who has already succeeded in converting military technology to car airbag construction. Launched with modest government support in July 1992, and now involving about 86 companies and other organizations, Calstart's mission is to create good jobs in California, clean the air and improve the state's global competitiveness by building an advanced transportation technology industry.

The California Air Resources Board has mandated that by 1998 2 percent of all new cars sold in California (about 40,000) must emit no pollution. By 2003 non-polluting electric vehicles must make up 10 percent of the market. Since a consortium of Northeastern states wants to establish the same standards (though the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency is delaying its approval of the plan), roughly half the U.S. car market would require some electric vehicles. Even without the Northeast market, Calstart has estimated that an electric vehicle industry would create 55,000 jobs in the state by the year 2000.

Conversion advocates argue that only the creation of a new industry, such as the electric car market, can provide an alternative to defense work. Simply relying on the haphazard innovations of small entrepreneurs will not work. Although there is a need for non-polluting transportation, development of the industry needs a boost from government. "If there were no mandate" to build electric cars, says Calstart president Michael Gage, "I'm pretty sure we wouldn't exist."

Calstart was hopeful when at first it appeared that the Big Three were ready to join in the march toward electric vehicles. In 1991, GM promised early production of its Impact electric car. But then GM and the other automakers decided to fight the rules. Now they denounce electric vehicles as impractical, even though European and Japanese companies have been working hard on electric, hydrogen fuel cell and other low-polluting cars. Late last year, the Clinton administration caved into the car companies and joined the Big Three in a billion-dollar project designed to boost the efficiency of internal combustion engines.

Other federal programs are also skewed toward the established auto industry. The Department of Energy is the sole federal funder for fuel cells, which are very low-polluting electric power sources, and it grants money only to the Big Three. TRP also provided just one year of funding for a composite material consortium that was looking for low-cost mass-production technologies to use superstrong and light composites for cars and other products. When the funding ended, the consortium broke up. The Japanese are still working hard on this front.

California and the federal government have kicked in funds for Calstart, but most of the $229 million invested thus far in the consortium has come from the private sector. Last year Calstart got only $5.4 million of the $42.4 million in TRP grants it had requested. "Clinton doesn't think we're real," a Calstart official says. "One Commerce Department official told us, 'You guys will screw it up for the people



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

who know what they're doing,' " namely the Big Three.

The Clinton administration's attitude not only ignores the Big Three's history of opposition to automotive engine innovation, it also ignores the considerable conversion potential from California's defense spin-offs—which could also spur the auto industry to action. For example, U.S. Flywheel Systems, a member of Calstart, is trying to adapt military work on gyroscopes to develop mechanical energy storage systems for electric vehicles.

Unfortunately, even some supporters are beginning to wonder if Calstart is real. "It's a think tank, not a do tank," one dismayed sympathizer says. Calstart claims to have generated about 1,200 jobs so far, but those are mostly managerial and professional. Its members are working on at least 16 distinct technologies, and it has produced a working electric-vehicle concept car and has delivered some electric buses. But some environmentalists think a battery-powered electric vehicle—the preference so far of Calstart—may not be as promising as a very light hybrid vehicle, using a fuel cell and an electric motor.

Calstart leaders always envisioned that California would create components, not launch a competitor to General Motors. But without the participation of a major auto firm and the promise of a final assembly plant, Calstart will have to content itself with production for limited if important niches—such as delivery vehicles or buses.

On the margins of Calstart, neither a member nor an enemy, sits Orange County's Taylor-Dunn, one of the world's largest electric vehicle makers. It started with golf carts, then shifted to production of electric vehicles for use in factories and other off-road locations. Jim Goodwin and his partner bought the ailing business in 1990. They promptly cut waste, pollution, inventories and lead time in making product changes. With new computer technology and more agile manufacturing tactics, they boosted production, profits and employment, drawing about one-third of new workers from defense.

Now 200 workers, who average $15 an hour plus profit-sharing and are encouraged to cooperate in planning the work, turn out about 20 vehicles a day. But Goodwin claims the company does not have the money to test any new model to see if it meets highway safety standards. If he could, there's a potential $2.5 billion market simply in replacing postal service vehicles, he says. He supports continued electric vehicle mandates, more state and federal aid, and federal purchases of electric vehicles to drive down the cost of production. But as one small company, he now must tend to his niche and can only dream of bigger markets to come.

Goodwin is a hero to writer Joel Kotkin of the Center for the New West, a think tank that extolls entrepreneurship. Kotkin sees him as a small businessman who is building things for the real market, not a fuzzy-headed visionary like the Calstart executives. But Goodwin's options are limited as a small entrepreneur, and unlike Kotkin he recognizes the value of government intervention and alliances like Calstart.

Even some critics of Calstart's performance so far agree with consortium president Gage that it is a good model for conversion—even if Big Three opposition and federal foot-dragging have hurt their cause. The Calstart consortium encourages cooperation among a wide variety of participants, aims to develop a new industry that satisfies important social needs, and plans to employ both the technology and people of the shrunken defense industry. If Calstart hasn't succeeded on all counts so far, it is not due to the failure of those principles.

"Some people say conversion doesn't work very well," Gage says. "It doesn't if you don't have some reason to convert. [Also], competition isn't enough. Cooperation is vital, but competition with cooperation is a better tool. Sharing information is already pushing production quicker to market."

Calstart founder Bell—now president of Amerigon, an advanced transportation company he recently started—had hoped that the Calstart model would eventually spread to other industries, which could more efficiently utilize the nation's resources. While he underestimated the adaptability of defense technology to advanced transportation, he says, "I overestimated the willingness of corporations to consider new business ventures at a time of their economic decline or downsizing."

Amerigon at least has components it can sell to the auto industry, regardless of progress on electric vehicles. For example, it now offers a guidance system that tells the driver how to find a destination in response to spoken commands, drawing on data on a compact disc. Calstart boosters think they will also have a big chunk of a large "intelligent vehicle highway system," a technology that would, however, consolidate further the nation's auto dependency and do little for the environment.

Even if military spending rises again, political organization for conversion is essential. But rather than imagine that new work can always be found to keep workers employed in the same factory where they were engaged in military production, most conversion advocates now realize that they must help jump-start new industries and launch new public missions to replace defense. Also, while the big defense contractors have made it clear they have little interest in conversion, the smaller companies clearly need help with changing business culture, retraining workers and managers, acquiring capital, and in some cases developing new technologies. In many cases, they also need leadership, whether it's through an alliance of smaller firms or the initiative of major companies.

Government has a key role to play as well, argues Bell. "There's absolutely a role for government to facilitate initiatives that have societal impact, such as environmental concerns and transportation," he says. "Enlightened intervention can ease pain, speed the process and increase global competitiveness. How did Boeing get created?" ◀

*Next issue: How workers and their unions envision conversion.*



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BLACK AMERICA

# Closing ranks?

***Will black progressives and the Nation of Islam join together?***

**By Salim Muwakkil**
CHICAGO

Media attention lately has been focused on the discontent of white men. The anger and resentments of these men, mostly high school graduates with blue-collar skills, were said to be the main ingredient in the 1994 electoral upheaval that placed Congress in Republican hands. But if participants in the recently concluded National African-American Leadership Summit (NAALS) have their way, 1995 will be the year we hear from discontented black men.

This was the third in a series of black leadership meetings organized by the Rev. Benjamin Chavis, who initiated the process before he was fired in August as executive director of the NAACP. The event, which took place here from December 9-11, attracted about 75 participants from across the country and across the political spectrum. At the meeting's conclusion, the NAALS issued a 10-point action plan including a march by 1 million black men on Washington in October, targeted boycotts, an African-American development bank, public demands of reparations for the "holocaust of enslavement," and aggressive campaigns to counter negative media portrayals of blacks.

The audacious attempt to mobilize 1 million black men to march on Washington on October 15 is the centerpiece of the action plan. The march will be less a protest than a chance to "affirm our responsibility to care for the African-American community, to care for our families," says Chavis. Ironically, the idea for a civil rights-style march was initiated by Minister Louis Farrakhan of the Nation of Islam (NOI). The NOI historically has been hostile to the social protest mode of the civil rights movement, and that hostility was mutual. The first two summits, held in Baltimore while Chavis headed the NAACP, sparked controversy precisely because of Farrakhan's involvement. But some observers argue that the NOI's new willingness to defy its own traditions is a product of those previous summit meetings.

"The problems of black people have not been placed on the back burner, they've been pushed off the stove," Farrakhan said at a news conference explaining the march's purpose. "No political party has responded properly to our needs. We intend to wake America up." Farrakhan reminded his audience that the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. marched to desegregate the United States in the '60s, but said that America is more segregated today than it was then.

Since his August firing, Chavis has been traveling the country doing speaking engagements and focusing on the business of the NAALS. It is clear that he intends to parlay these occasional gatherings into the nucleus of a new organization; the group already has set up an office in Washington, D.C. During this period, he has also strengthened his relations with Farrakhan. Chavis' speeches now echo many of Farrakhan's themes of economic self-sufficiency and racial solidarity.

Farrakhan's influence on the Chicago meetings was apparent in everything from the theme of the discussions



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to the NOI's security arrangements. But Farrakhan himself has been changed by his encounters with summit participants who hold differing views. He seems more confident in stepping beyond Elijah Muhammad's mandate. The late Muhammad was the NOI's founder and supreme patriarch, and Farrakhan's legitimacy has been based on his absolute fidelity to Muhammad's dictates. He seems more willing now to elaborate on Muhammad's basic teachings than ever before, his proposal for the October march being just one example.

Among the other prominent names attending the Chicago affair were Cornel West, the academic superstar and author who was just hired away from Princeton by Harvard University; Ron Daniels, executive director of the Center for Constitutional Rights and a longtime organizer; Maulana Karenga, a premier black nationalist theorist, creator of the Kwanza holiday and chairman of the Department of Black Studies at California State University, Long Beach; Conrad Worrill, chairman of the National Black United Front; Haki Madhubuti, author-publisher-educator; and Jesse Jackson, president of the National Rainbow Coalition. A host of lesser-known business leaders, church officials and heads of professional organizations also attended. Because of the controversies surrounding some of the participants, the summit meetings tend not to attract well-known politicians, although Rep. Kweisi Mfume (D-MD) attended the Baltimore confab.

These meeting are extensions of an idea conceived by Chavis while he led the NAACP to re-enlist oppositional black intellectuals into the mainstream movement for racial justice and to energize that movement by forging a kind of operational unity among its varied strains. "We have to mount a unified effort to help resolve the multiple crises African-Americans are facing," explains Ron Daniels. "Ideally, that should be a formation with a united front character, an organization comprised of leaders from various organizations dedicated to the seemingly trite but powerful idea of unity without uniformity." Daniels was deeply involved in two other attempts to translate that idea into action; the Congress of African Peoples convened an Atlanta meeting in 1970 that attracted a wide spectrum of black leadership, and in 1972 the National Black Political Convention held a similar gathering in Gary, Ind.

The difference, Daniels says, is the depth and complexity of the current crisis. "A lot of people are very concerned about the criminalization of black men and how the war on crime has actually become a war on black people, particularly men. Increasingly, I'm hearing parallels to Nazi Germany, and the fact that a book advancing eugenic arguments is on the best-seller list has really sharpened that comparison." Daniels says the October march will provide a focal point to help transform African-Americans' increasing sense of despair into a spirit of affirmation and resistance.

Like the other participants, Daniels de-emphasized the civil rights character of the march. He preferred to characterize it as "black men making a pilgrimage toward each other to pledge that we will go back to our communities and take more responsibility for their well-being."

Daniels also is sensitive to the fact that restricting the march to men fuels fears that Farrakhan's patriarchal nationalism is becoming more widely accepted among progressive black organizers. Not so, he says. Rather, the focus on black men is designed to bring attention to their endangered status.

But Daniels' denials notwithstanding, it is clear that Farrakhan's prominence in the Chicago meeting is a function of the NOI's ideological clarity and superior organization. Few of the other summit participants have as coherent a worldview as does Farrakhan, and thus they are inexorably drawn to his strength of purpose. Farrakhan's NOI is the only group that can depend on disciplined followers in every major U.S. city. For example, the group's security force, the Fruit of Islam, was used as the summit's security force.

It is this tactical imbalance that troubles some organizers who remain wary of Chavis' NAALS. "I understand the need for such a process, but as currently organized it is simply a sounding board for Farrakhan," says one prominent theorist who prefers anonymity. He says the Washington march is one example of Farrakhan's inordinate influence. Still, he adds, "if any group can pull off a march of 1 million black men, it is the Nation of Islam."

Cornel West's participation has puzzled many. As a "radical democrat," West seems decidedly out of place in the nationalist-oriented NAALS. But many participants have praised his influence and the power of his arguments. At one point in the conference, West, Farrakhan, Karenga, Madhubuti and Daniels engaged in a freewheeling closed-door discussion of issues, and the eloquent Harvard professor persuasively argued his case.

West's presence is another sign of the ecumenicalism already evident in 1993, when the Congressional Black Caucus' Chairman Kweisi Mfume (D-MD) announced a "sacred covenant" with the NOI and Chavis' NAACP—a process of inclusion still being nurtured by the NAALS. The group's goals are heavily influenced by black nationalist principles, but some nationalism is progressive. If the summit discussions are open and receptive to analytical rigor, then nationalism's more reactionary tendencies will be solidly rejected.

The NAALS action plan contains some interesting elements. In April, for example, the group intends to conduct a series of public workshops during the "Freaknik" celebration that has become such a popular spring-break tradition among black college students. By making a conscious effort to reach the hip-hop generation, the summit organizers already are breaking new ground. If they succeed in bringing 1 million—or even 100,000—black men to Washington, D.C., they will cause an earthquake. ◀



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

URBAN AMERICA

# Good rap

***In a Chicago housing project, music is building bridges between cops and kids.***

By Christopher Chandler
CHICAGO

In April of 1988, a gang war was raging at the Cabrini-Green public housing development just north of Chicago's downtown. In a scene that had become all too typical at Cabrini, two 14-year-old gang members were chasing a crowd of smaller schoolchildren into a high-rise apartment building, firing shots from their pistols.

When Chicago police officers Eric Davis and Gary Morris arrived, the boys turned their guns on them. Morris was pinned down, but Davis was able to shoot one of the boys in the hip and catch the other one running up the stairs.

Davis received the award of valor from the Chicago Police Department, one of numerous awards he has received in his eight years as a Chicago cop. But he took no joy in winning the award. Like the 14-year-old boy he shot, Davis grew up in Cabrini-Green.

A few months later Davis and his partner, James Martin, came across a group of teenagers listening to rap music on a street corner at Cabrini. The song was about shooting policemen; the officers told the kids they didn't think that was a very good message.

"You're just jealous 'cause you can't rap," one of the boys said.

"We can do anything we put our minds to, and so can you," Davis said. Although Davis and Martin had never rapped before, they offered to compete with the kids to see who could write the best song. The two officers were ready a week later with four raps. The teenagers, stunned that the police had actually written the songs, had only composed part of one.

"They saw a different side to us," Davis remembers. "Instead of being the cops that come in and run things, here we were taking directions from them."

That street-corner encounter proved to be a revelation not only for the kids but also for the cops. While Davis and Martin are still on the force, they're now legitimate rappers as well. Along with fellow police officer Randy Holcomb, they make up the Slick Boys, a well-known rap group with a major label record deal pending, an HBO movie in the works and several national television appearances under their belts.

But the creation of the Slick Boys has not only transformed the officers' lives, it has also been an important element in the surprising transformation of Cabrini itself. Just two years ago, when 7-year-old Dantrell Davis was shot and killed while walking to school in Cabrini, the housing project became a national symbol of the senseless violence that has ravaged America's inner cities.

In the wake of the shooting, however, a citywide gang truce was arranged with the help of national civil rights leaders. That truce has broken down in most of Chicago, but at Cabrini it remains in effect. Aside from a recent shooting stemming from an internal dispute within one of Cabrini's gangs, there hasn't been a gang-related shooting at the housing project in the past two years. And that fact is having a big impact on the community.

Speaking from the police department's public housing unit, which is located on the first floor of a Cabrini high-rise, Martin explains how life has changed. "A few years ago when a kid had to go to the store from this building, he'd have to circle around over on Orleans and go two blocks out of his way because of the gang fights," Martin says. "Now



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

he can walk straight there. Relatives can visit relatives."

He points out the window at a softball game in progress past the two nearest high-rises. "I've been here seven years, and I never saw anybody playing on that field until the truce. The first time I saw the kids out there this summer, it made me cry."

"A lot more people have been coming out since the peace," says Al Carter, head of the foundation that sponsors sports for area children. "Now young people can cross territorial boundaries. It has to be one of the safest neighborhoods in Chicago." What role have the Slick Boys played at Cabrini? "A lot of different people have contributed to this community. They're part of the leadership."

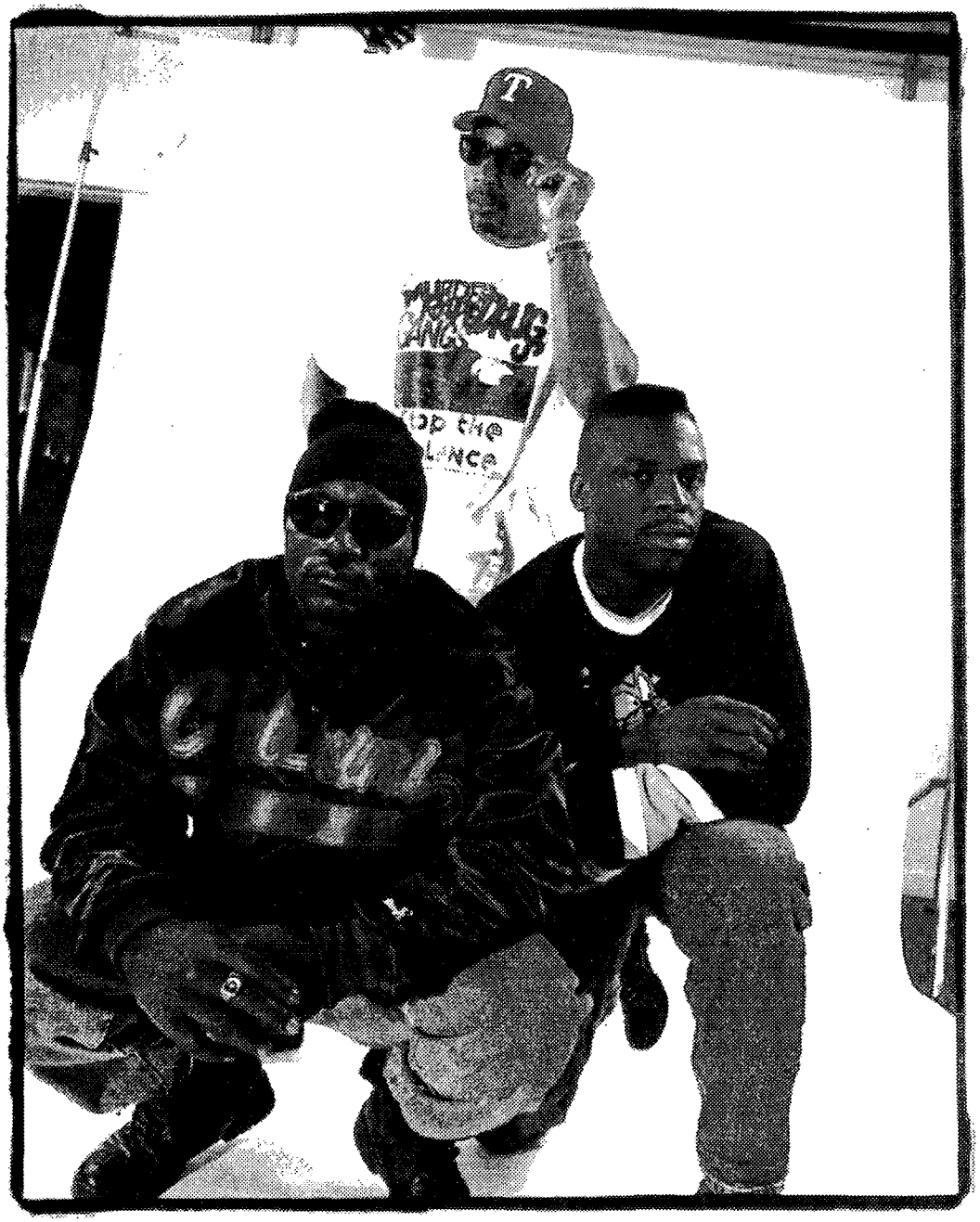
The Slick Boys say they played only a small role in the truce, helping to keep open lines of communication. The main credit, they insist, goes to a number of community leaders, especially Marian Stamps, a community activist who has spent more than 25 years organizing in Cabrini-Green.

But Stamps returns their praise. "They helped institute the peace, and they have played a significant role in maintaining it," she says. "They talk to the brothers not only as peace officers but as black men committed to the community."

But the Slick Boys' approach to crime prevention departs from the orthodox wisdom within the Chicago police department. Generally, the department has followed the lead of Mayor Richard M. Daley, who has ridiculed the city-wide truce as a cynical media stunt orchestrated by common criminals.

Consequently, the recent reassignment of both Davis and Martin to the Rockwell Gardens housing project on the city's West Side has many Cabrini residents wondering whether the Slick Boys have the full support of their superiors. "Why do you think they're not assigned here anymore?" asks Hattie Calvin, president of the Cabrini-Green Local Advisory Council, one of the community groups that has played a key role in maintaining the truce and in organizing efforts to renovate the housing project. For their part, Martin and Davis decline to discuss their relationship with police headquarters beyond saying that they are dedicated police officers.

Despite the transfer, both officers still start out each working day at the department's public housing unit in Cabrini. And all



©1994 DAVID SCHULZ

**Chicago rappers—and police officers—the Slick Boys.**



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the Slick Boys still maintain their ties with local residents. "We always acknowledge Cabrini-Green," Davis says, "the help we got, that it comes from the community."

Ironically, now that divisions within Cabrini are beginning to heal, external forces are threatening to tear the community apart. The Chicago Housing Authority (CHA), which owns Cabrini, wants to tear down a number of the project's high-rises and replace them with mixed-income buildings. Most current residents would be offered apartments in the new buildings, or at other sites in Chicago and the suburbs. (See "The Home Front," *ITT*, Nov. 29, 1993.)

The plan has been widely praised in the local media and has been promised $50 million in funding from the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). But HUD Secretary Henry Cisneros has said he will release the money only if Cabrini residents give their approval to the plan. Right now the residents are resisting. Since Cabrini is situated in the middle of one of Chicago's most coveted commercial and residential areas, the residents fear that developers are simply looking for an excuse to level the project's high-rises and replace them with upscale apartments. Instead of the CHA's demolition and relocation plan, Cabrini's resident groups are pressing for renovation and economic development.

"This is like a big reservation," says Martin. "The surrounding neighborhood is affluent, and the people don't know their rights. ... [Developers] want them out of here because they want the loot."

"The people here are in big trouble," says Davis. "They need better schools, counseling for people on drugs, jobs. But the only program they have is the [CHA's] 'move-'em-out' program."

"Look at the crime bill," says Holcomb, the other Slick Boy. "Twenty-two billion dollars and most of it going to build jails and hire one hundred thousand policemen. Why don't they take $10 billion of that and put it into education? Let's start producing decent community life right here, not in the suburbs."

That's a message the Slick Boys deliver repeatedly in their performances at local schools.

It is early fall and the Slick Boys are performing at a Chicago-area high school. Their rap has more than 200 students standing, smiling and waving their arms to the rhythm. A few are dancing in the aisles. After inviting teachers on the stage, and praising them as role models, Martin talks to the crowd—about growing up in Chicago's Ida B. Wells housing project, about his grandmother, a firm disciplinarian who made him do his schoolwork at Dunbar High School, and about going on to West Point.

He also talks about his youngest brother, who is currently doing 25 years in jail "for the organization," meaning his local gang. He points out that the average murder victim in Chicago is a black man between 16 and 24, in a gang. "I'm telling you as a policeman," Martin says, "there is not a war on drugs. There is a war on young gangbangers." The only way to make it as a people, to escape the system, he says, is through education.

Then it's Davis' turn. Striding up and down the stage in a red baseball hat worn backwards, he describes his early upbringing, first in Cabrini-Green, and then in Uptown, a racially integrated poor community with one of Chicago's highest crime rates.

Davis explains how he belonged to a gang with 15 members. Today, he says, seven are dead and seven are in jail. After years spent on the streets, Davis says a friend finally convinced him to return to school, if only for the two meals provided each day. Once he was there, his friend also helped teach him to read. After one semester back in school he became a straight-A student, got an athletic scholarship to the University of Houston and ended up playing in college basketball's "Final Four."

Of course, not all Cabrini-Green stories have a happy ending.

Davis has stayed in touch with the two 14-year-olds he arrested back in 1988. Sadly, Davis says, the one he caught on the stairs was killed in a shootout in Milwaukee. But Davis says life has improved dramatically for the boy he shot in the hip. He is now studying for his GED, and "looking forward to graduating in January." ◀

**Christopher Chandler**, a former press aide to late Chicago Mayor Harold Washington, has been active in housing issues since 1966.

**Social Investing Begins Where You Bank!**



Photo by Marc PoKempner

*Join forces with the nation's leader!* Your investment in any FDIC-Insured South Shore Bank account rebuilds neighborhoods. • By phone, mail, cash card and direct deposit. As convenient as any bank around the corner. • Safety, yield–and the highest social return. *Call today.*

**South Shore Bank**

**1 (800) 669-7725 • (312) 753-5636**

Yes I'd like a South Shore Bank Development Deposits℠ brochure and application.

Name_____

Address_____

City/State/Zip_____

Phone_____

**Mail to: South Shore Bank**
**71st & Jeffery Blvd., Chicago, IL 60649-2096** **Member FDIC**



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

AFRICA

# Making a killing

*France is rewarding the mass murderers of Rwanda.*

By Diana Johnstone

In a world made safe for localized ethnic war by the widely welcomed collapse of progressive ideology, Rwanda marks the extreme of horror reached so far.

Last spring, the then-ruling party of Rwanda, inspired by a racist ideology proclaiming the moral superiority of the Hutu majority over the formerly dominant Tutsi minority, carried out a systematic genocide against the Tutsi people, the likes of which has not been seen since the Nazis' "Final Solution" to rid Europe of Jews. This was not your usual outburst of "tribal violence," as some ignorant Western media claimed. The Hutus and Tutsis are not "tribes" but the symbiotic social components of the population of the small and fertile volcanic hill countries of Rwanda and Burundi, the most intensively farmed and densely populated in Africa. They speak the same language and share the same religion: Christianity. Indeed, Rwanda is the most thoroughly Christianized country in Africa.

Rather than describing Tutsis and Hutus as tribes, it might be more enlightening to compare them to the Normans and the Anglo-Saxons in medieval Britain, when the former had conquered the latter and for a while remained a visible aristocracy. In time, intermarriage and assimilation erased such distinctions. In Rwanda, they were revived and exacerbated by European colonialism.

When the Germans took over Rwanda in the 19th century, it was a feudal kingdom ruled by a Tutsi king. The aristocracy was Tutsi, although not all Tutsis were aristocrats. The unique features of the region's population fascinated Europeans. First, the German rulers and then the Belgians (who took over when Germany lost its colonies after World War I) projected onto Rwanda an ideology of racial hierarchy that justified their own colonialist project. The Tutsis tended to be tall and to resemble their cousins among the Hamitic people of Ethiopia and Somalia. The prevailing physical characteristics of the dominant Tutsis were lovingly catalogued as proof of their superiority over the Hutus, who in turn were said to be superior to the Pygmy people whom they had overcome at an earlier stage. Pursuing a divide and rule strategy, the colonialists coddled, educated and promoted the Tutsi aristocracy, notably through the hierarchy of the Catholic Church.

Ingratitude ensued. As is almost always the case, the country's elite—inevitably largely Tutsi—first started demanding national independence. Imbued with a sense of their own worth, the Tutsis proved impossible to hold down.

The Belgian colonialists—and in particular the Catholic Church, whose missionary presence was particularly important—made a historic about-face and decided to save their influence by allying with the long-oppressed Hutus. A "Hutu national revolution" in 1959—which saw the first massacres of Tutsis—led to independence from Belgium in 1962. From this shift there emerged a Hutu nationalist ideology that turned the old colonialist Tutsi-Hutu hierarchy upside down by proclaiming the bucolic virtues of the Hutu farming people over the wicked, exploitative Tutsis. The pseudo-communism of this ideology, like the pseudo-socialism of Hitler's "National Socialism," substituted racial identification for analysis of social relations and served as the justification of a single-party dictatorship based on expropriation of a minority.

Inasmuch as the Hutus were the overwhelming majority,



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ruling Hutu nationalism favored some at the expense of others, and cleavages among the Hutu developed. And so it was that the Tutsi-led Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF) could hope to find political allies among Hutus who also opposed the dictatorial regime. The RPF, directed by Tutsi refugees in Uganda, hoped to lead a democratic revolution that would allow them to return home as full citizens. The possibility of a political pluralism transcending the artificially maintained and exploited "ethnic conflict" was embodied in the political compromise that the RPF and the government of President Juvénal Habyarimana finally worked out in August 1993.

Then Habyarimana died in a plane crash on April 6, 1994. The cause is still disputed, but what happened in the hours that followed is all too clear: the extreme nationalist Hutu party proceeded to put into effect a carefully planned program to deprive the RPF of victory by exterminating its potential allies within the country, and then retreating into neighboring countries to regroup for the reconquest, taking the regimented Hutu village population with it.

First to be killed was Agathe Uwingiliyimana, the country's courageous Hutu prime minister, who favored political compromise. Her entire family was also killed. Prominent Hutus who might have exerted influence to stop the massacres were wiped out. Then the extremist Hutu Interahamwe militia, shielded by the army and local officials, systematically set about massacring every last Tutsi man, woman and child. Long lists of persons to kill were prepared. With moderates out of the way, the killer militia organized Hutu villagers with machetes to take part in the butchery, spreading the guilt as widely as possible.

As the country lay stinking from up to a million corpses, the militia led the Hutu villagers, traumatized by fear of Tutsi vengeance, into refugee camps in Tanzania and especially Zaire. There, the plight of the refugees filled the world's television screens and turned the preceding genocide into just another banal episode in the succession of ongoing miseries. Today, the Interahamwe militia and local Hutu extremist leaders responsible for the genocide continue to rule over the people in the refugee camps, their power based on arms and control of international food aid, which they distribute or sell to raise money for equipment. Someday soon, they will launch the reconquest of Rwanda.

These are not random events, but part of a carefully planned strategy. It has a precedent: the Khmer Rouge, who were driven from Phnom Penh by Vietnamese forces, led part of the population into refugee camps in neighboring Thailand. There, they lived off international aid and clandestine arms-running until conditions improved for reconquest (currently under way). In Rwanda, the reconquest could be more rapid.

Following the genocide, the RPF routed the army, won control of the country and installed a coalition government in Kigali. Hutus occupy many top posts and the government is trying to demonstrate its determination to overcome ethnic divisions and create a pluralistic state. But it has no means with which to carry out any policy at all: no judicial system, no office equipment, no vehicles, nothing. The Hutu peasant exodus following the genocide has left the countryside empty. Crops rotted in the fields with no one to harvest them. Next year's crops have not been planted. Famine looms. The human rights observers promised by the international community have not been sent. The aid requested from the European Union to restore a judicial system and get the country going again is being held up until the government in Kigali can ensure the safe return of refugees and broaden its political base. In other words, it can't get aid until it accomplishes the very things it needs the aid to accomplish.

Oxfam, Médecins sans Frontières and other humanitarian organizations working in Rwanda have denounced this scandalous situation. They are pulling out of the refugee camps not only because their workers are not safe but because of their unease at giving aid to the perpetrators of a monstrous genocide, aid that enables these criminals to maintain their power and prepare to take up arms once again.

French voices in the international aid community, including media favorite Bernard Kouchner, who is former Socialist minister of humanitarian aid and a newly elected member of the European Parliament, have condemned the scandalous role of the French government, which has yet to disavow its longstanding military and political support for the genocidal Hutu leaders. In 1990, direct French military intervention rescued the Hutu regime from an RPF offensive, and French support to Hutu nationalists seems to be continuing even today in various obscure ways. President François Mitterrand pointedly excluded the current Rwandan government from his recent Franco-African summit in Biarritz—open to discredited dictators from Mobutu on down—and ambiguously referred to "genocides" in the plural when deploring the Rwandan situation. If people want to kill each other, he said, in substance, there is nothing France can do about it.

French critics analyze this strange policy as based on two factors: the geopolitics of "Francophony" and the desire to justify past errors. French interference in the affairs of Rwanda started out as part of the policy of extending French influence beyond the former French colonies to those of Belgium, also considered "French-speaking," meaning mainly big, resource-rich Zaire but also poor little agricultural Rwanda and Burundi. The French started out supporting the Hutu regime because it was in power. Mitterrand, unfortunately, carried on the tradition of dealing with Africa through "personal ties," appointing his own son as liaison with Africa's ruling patriarchs. Just as former President Giscard d'Estaing became a "great friend" of Central African "Emperor" Bokassa, Mitterrand became a "great friend" of Habyarimana. One thing led to another. Support to the Hutus was—and apparently still is—based on the simple calculation that when all is said and done, Hutus outnumber Tutsis as



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

much as 10 to one and will end up in power no matter what. The pro-Hutu bias was strongly reinforced by the fact that Tutsi fugitives from Hutu persecution took refuge in Uganda, where they and their children learned the English language. The RFP victory thus raised the specter in Paris of a shrinkage of Francophone Africa and an expansion of the Anglophone sphere.

The most cynical calculation, denounced by a growing number of French critics, seems to be that if isolated, the RPF-backed government in Kigali will eventually prove unable to stop vengeance killings and will be drawn into a cycle of bloodletting that will ensure its downfall. This ghastly spiral was foreshadowed in Mitterrand's odd use of the word "genocides" in the plural. In the absence of any functioning judicial system or any international concern, individual RPF soldiers whose families were systematically exterminated are virtually certain to try to take justice into their own hands. The ousted Hutu regime's network of apologists are already prepared to justify the Hutu-instigated genocide of Tutsis as self-defense. And since there are simply more Hutus than Tutsis, the Hutus must win in a contest of "eye for eye, tooth for tooth." Then they and their friends will write the history. So goes the most cynical calculation.

Or perhaps there is another, equally cruel calculation, implicit in the analysis that pressure on the land from overpopulation was the root cause of conflict in Rwanda. Let them kill each other off. ... With its fertile hills and pleasant climate, Rwanda is potentially very nice real estate.

However, traditional colonialist greed is not a major factor here. This tragedy occurs at a time when Europe as a whole, including France, is disinvesting in Africa. Rwanda is devoid of resources of interest to the world market. This lack of economic interest surely has more to do with international indifference to the country's fate than to racism; in purely sentimental terms, Rwandans, with their normally reserved manners and Christian Church connections, are much more appealing to most Westerners than Kuwaitis, for instance. The main fault here is not simple anti-African racism but rather the deliberate exaggeration and exploitation by both Rwandans and Europeans of supposed racial differences for political purposes.

Rwanda might yet be saved from a further plunge into the abyss by material aid coupled with a genuine concern for national reconciliation and justice, by establishment of a judicial system able to provide a framework for recognition of individual responsibility and the exercise of citizenship. In Europe, awareness of the needs is growing, but time is running out.

Unfortunately, a United States that is about to elevate Jesse Helms to the chairmanship of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee can hardly be expected to make a constructive contribution. At this point, Americans need to understand the world not to save it but to save themselves. ◀

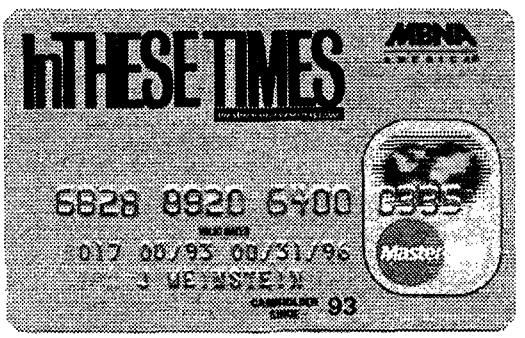

# EVERY TIME YOU USE AN *In THESE TIMES* MASTERCARD, *ITT* RECEIVES 15¢

**Put your credit card to work for In THESE TIMES at no additional cost to you.** The magazine receives $1.50 when you sign up and 15¢ for every charge you make, no matter what the amount of the charge. So put your credit card to good use. Sign up today.

**Enjoy the advantages of the In THESE TIMES Gold MasterCard without risk...** It is issued absolutely free of an annual fee for one full year.† Other features include a line of credit up to $50,000, immediate cash availability and Premium Buyer's Protection.

**Extensive travel benefits and services provided at no extra cost,** include*:

- Up to $1,000,000 Common Carrier Travel Accident Insurance
- Supplemental Auto Rental Collision/Loss Damage Insurance
- Up to $3,000 Supplemental Lost Luggage Protection
- Emergency Cash & Airline Tickets




**MBNA America® is one of the world's leading issuers of credit cards.** Committed to servicing our members' needs, MBNA America® offers cardholders 24-hour-year-round Customer Satisfaction, one hour processing for credit line increase requests, a lost card registration service and an emergency replacement card service.

†17.65% Annual Percentage Rate. $40 Annual Fee for the Gold MasterCard and $20 for the Silver MasterCard waived the first year. Transaction Fee For Bank and ATM Cash advances: 2% of each Cash Advance ($2 Minimum, $25 Maximum); Transaction Fee For Premium Access Checks® and Preferred Access Checks® Cash Advances: 1% of each Cash Advance ($2 Minimum, $10 Maximum). Late Payment Fee: $15. Over-The-Credit-Limit-Fee: $15.

*Certain restrictions apply to these benefits. The summary of credit card benefits accompanying the credit card Premium Access Checks® and Preferred Access Checks® describes coverage terms, conditions and limitations.

MBNA America® and Premium Access Checks® are federally registered Service Marks of MBNA America Bank, N.A. The account is issued and administered by MBNA America Bank, N.A. MasterCard® is a federally registered Service Mark of MasterCard International, Inc., used pursuant to license. The information about the cost of the card described above is accurate as of 2/93, to find out what may have changed call 1-800-847-7378 ext. 5000. © 1993 MBNA America Bank, N.A.

## CALL NOW TO APPLY!

24 hours a day, 7 days a week

**1-800-847-7378 ext. 5000**

Be sure to use this priority code when calling: KZPU.




LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE BALKANS

# A bridge too far

## *Can the war-torn city of Mostar point the way to peace in Bosnia?*

**By Paul Hockenos**

MOSTAR, BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA

High above the blue-green Neretva River, a suspended rope walkway links the crumbling bridgeheads that once belonged to Mostar's Stari Most, or "Old Bridge." For five centuries, the magnificent stone bridge was a symbol of the peaceful coexistence among Croats, Muslims and Serbs in this picturesque little city in west Hercegovina.

Six months after the termination of the fierce Croat-Muslim war, the city is divided, its multiethnic community as shattered as its famous bridge. The east side of the Neretva is now almost exclusively Muslim; west Mostar is Croat. The 20,000 Serbs have left for Serb-occupied Bosnia. But under European Union (EU) administration since June, Mostar is the site of an ambitious pilot project of reconstruction and ethnic reconciliation, an experiment that could serve as model should a similar peace ever come to the rest of this country.

In contrast to unscathed west Mostar, the historic Old City of east Mostar lies in ruin. The Turkish marketplace, the vine-covered houses and cobbled passageways are piles of rubble, the work of Bosnian Croat forces that relentlessly shelled the east bank for almost 10 months. When the Bosnian Croat army attacked the Muslims in April 1993, ending their common alliance against the Bosnian Serbs, its leadership set out to cleanse west Hercegovina of non-Croats and eventually annex "Croatian" parts of Bosnia-Hercegovina to Croatia proper. The Croat government in Zagreb threw its full support behind the extremist Bosnian Croat leadership, encouraging and aiding the expulsion of tens of thousands of Bosnian Muslims from their homes.

The vicious, senseless war within the war ended early this spring, when Zagreb buckled under heavy international pressure (primarily from Washington and Bonn) to abandon its dream of a Greater Croatia. As abruptly as the war began, it ended. Zagreb, over the protests of the Bosnian Croats, agreed to the Washington plan, which proposed a sovereign Bosnian federation, governed from Sarajevo and made up of Croat, Muslim and mixed cantons. As part of the plan, Croatia would also join in a loose confederative union with Bosnia-Hercegovina. The federation-confederation agreement, unlike the various ethnic partition plans, recognized the principle of multinationalism as the basis of an independent Bosnian state.

But even the EU's $40 million 1994 budget for Mostar, a figure to be doubled next year, may not be enough to quell the resentment on both sides of the Neretva. At their headquarters in the deluxe Hotel Ero in west Mostar, the teams of EU architects, health experts, social workers and lawyers, as well as a German-led 186-man Western European Union police force, know that the stakes are high. "If Mostar can succeed, the federation can succeed," says the barrel-chested project chief, Hans Koschnick, a German Social Democrat who was mayor of Bremen for 20 years. "We're optimists. We have to be or we wouldn't be here."

After two months on the job, the EU team has restored electricity and running water to most of the city. But in east Mostar, the conditions are reminiscent of postwar Germany: extended families live in cellars and the skeletal remains of housing blocks. An emergency reconstruction project to make 3,000 homes livable by winter's onset will be too little, too late. The people of east Mostar, exhausted and still in shock after the siege, are anxious and impatient.

At night, the sound of Serb artillery echoes through the mountains behind east Mostar, where the Bosnian federation ends and Bosnian Serb-held territory begins. In 1992,



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Bosnian Serbs overran Mostar, only to be repelled months later by combined Croat-Muslim forces. Although not one of the war's current "hot fronts," Mostar remains in the Serbs' sights and could well come under sustained attack again should the Bosnian Serbs make it a priority.

At the terraced central park, now a cemetery crowded with wooden gravemarkers, a group of older Muslim men sit along a stone wall, smoking rolled-up cigarettes. "We're all behind Koschnick," says Dzerad, 62, a locksmith. "But we want to know when we're going to get our apartments in west Mostar back. A Croat soldier lives in mine. I see him driving my car around, but the EU police can't do anything about it."

The question of the refugees in east as well as west Mostar remains a sticking point in restoring "peace and normal living conditions" to Mostar, as the EU's mandate specifies. The Croats' ethnic cleansing of the Muslims in west Mostar, as well as other parts of west Hercegovina and central Bosnia, was every bit as ruthless as the Serbs' mass expulsions of the Croats and Muslims. In the middle of the night, an armed soldier would show up at the door and order the inhabitants to grab a blanket. A few minutes later they were on the street, off to the bridge and the cellars of east Mostar.

Today, 20-25,000 Muslim refugees live in east Mostar, having been expelled from their homes at gunpoint by Bosnian Croat troops. But Bosnian Croat nationalists still wield the power in west Mostar, which they refuse to relinquish to the EU or to moderate Croats The Bosnian Croat soldiers living in Muslim homes are under no pressure to leave, and the handful of Muslims still in the west face ongoing expulsion. "Our hands are tied," says Koschnick. "If we tried to purge the police forces there'd be civil war."

In west Mostar's garish nightclubs, Bosnian Croat troops sit around with dark sunglasses, holding rifles in their laps. In more than one of their hangouts, the portrait of Ante Pavelic, the leader of Croatia's World War II fascist movement, the Ustashe, adorns the walls. The rough, barren hills of west Hercegovina, Pavelic's birthplace and one-time Ustashe stronghold, are still the home of the most extreme proponents of Croatian nationalism, whose supporters include an unsavory array of criminals, war profiteers, mercenaries and arms dealers. The assassins who launched a grenade through Koschnick's office window this summer came from these ranks.

The Bosnian Croat leadership and administration, the same forces behind the 1993-94 war, are deliberately resisting the reintegration of Muslim and Croat societies. "The west Hercegovina Croats haven't given up," confided one EU official. "They're fighting us every inch of the way." Though the Croat radicals lost the war they started, they remain determined to preserve one of their few successes: the destruction of the region's multicultural society.

The bad spirits in the air will be difficult to exorcise, particularly given the limited mandate of the EU administration. The EU has no power to return expellees to their homes, to recover confiscated property or to prosecute war crimes. Suspicion is rife that a precondition for Zagreb's signing the Washington plan was a tacit agreement that war criminals would not be vigorously prosecuted. This sets an ominous precedent for any future settlement involving the Bosnian Serbs.

The Mostar project, like the Washington plan, is an enforced compromise, devised and orchestrated from outside, handed down as a virtual ultimatum to Zagreb and Sarajevo. Ultimately, the impetus for reconciliation must come from the Muslim and Croat leaderships. Until now, Zagreb has dragged its feet, failing to send the west Hercegovina extremists a clear message that it stands firmly behind the federation. Just as the federation hinges upon Mostar's success, the Mostar project is conceivable only in the larger context of the federation.

In east Mostar, most Muslims find it difficult to imagine living together again with the Croats, even though, incredibly, most still distinguish between "normal Croats" and Croatian extremists, who they refer to as "Ustashe." Many east Mostar refugees survive on money and aid packets that their former neighbors send across the bridge. The question the east Mostari ask is, why? "Why did the nationalists do this? We all lived together, Muslims, Serbs and Croats. We had a good life." They shake their heads in disbelief. ◀

**Paul Hockenos** is the author of *Free to Hate: The Rise of the Right in Post-Communist Eastern Europe* (Routledge).

*Offered in Support of the Leonard Peltier Defense Committee, Lawrence KS*

**1995 Leonard Peltier Freedom Calendar**

**June 25, 1995,** Marks the 20th anniversary of the incident at Oglala, the shootout between the FBI and the American Indian Movement that left two agents and an AIM warrior dead. Leonard Peltier has suffered ever since, railroaded by a justice system already predisposed to his guilt. After nearly two decades in federal prison, Peltier has become the United States foremost political prisoner. Despite the injustice he continues to be a strong leader, a symbol of their struggle for freedom after centuries of oppression. His unbroken spirit and hope find expression in his beautiful paintings. The 1995 Leonard Peltier Freedom Calendar honors his 20-year-long struggle for justice.




**1995 Leonard Peltier Freedom Calendars are $12.00 ea. or $10.00 ea. for orders of 20 calendars or more. Plus shipping and handling.**

To order please make check or money order payable to:

***Kalamazoo Leonard Peltier Support Group***

***P.O. Box 50814, Kalamazoo MI 49005***

**Please send me ____ Calendar(s) Enlosed is payment of ____**

Please add $1.00 shipping & handling for a single calendar orders, $3.00 for each order of 10 or more

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY _____ STATE ____ ZIP ____

PHONE

Please order early as supplies will be limited



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

IN THE ARTS

# White men can't hump

**Disclosure *is a prime exhibit in the white-guy comeback now shaking up the culture from Congress on down.***

**By Pat Dowell**

People are saying that *Disclosure* isn't *really* about sexual harassment—that it's a mystery, a thriller, a tale of boardroom skullduggery that simply uses the "hot-button issue" as a pretext. Well, yes. Using a serious social problem as an excuse for sensational melodrama and prurient thrills is a good working definition of exploitation. There's nothing contradictory about this shrewd piece of entertainment delivering both amusement, which it does, and a kind of cultural abuse. These days it's rare to have one without the other.

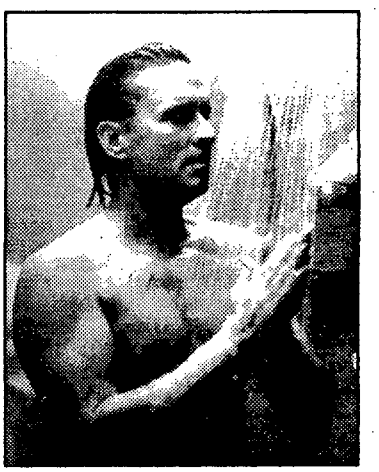
The film is also a prime exhibit in the white-guy comeback now shaking up the culture from Congress on down. It stars America's hero for the '90s, actor Michael Douglas, who has carved out a unique place for himself in movies as the exemplary white male victim of a society in which women and sex have run amok.

In *Wall Street,* he played a living symbol of Reaganite greed and won an Oscar for it, but it is in his role as victim that he has really made his mark. In *Falling Down* he was the workaday white-collar wimp who turns the tables on his tormenters. And it was as a reluctant stud—a nervous adulterer in *Fatal Attraction* and a fearfully horny cop in *Basic Instinct*—that he won his stardom. *Disclosure* will only add to his legend.

At the center of the film (which like so many these days is based on a Michael Crichton novel) is a barely unconsummated sexual encounter between Douglas and boss Demi Moore that takes place after hours in a Seattle cyber-firm called DigiCom. Douglas is, as usual, reluctant: he tells his boss "*no*" 31 times during their would-be tryst.

The next morning, though, she files sexual harassment charges against him. He gets a hotshot lawyer (female, of course) and sues the company, claiming that *he* is the victim. Man bites dog is news, goes the usual explanation for why this kind of harassment drama is the one that gets Hollywood's attention. At its heart, however, *Disclosure* is about rooting for Clarence instead of Anita. (The film covers all the bases in its depiction of male heterosexual paranoia—after Moore's assault, Douglas has a nightmare in which company owner Donald Sutherland tries to kiss him in the elevator.)

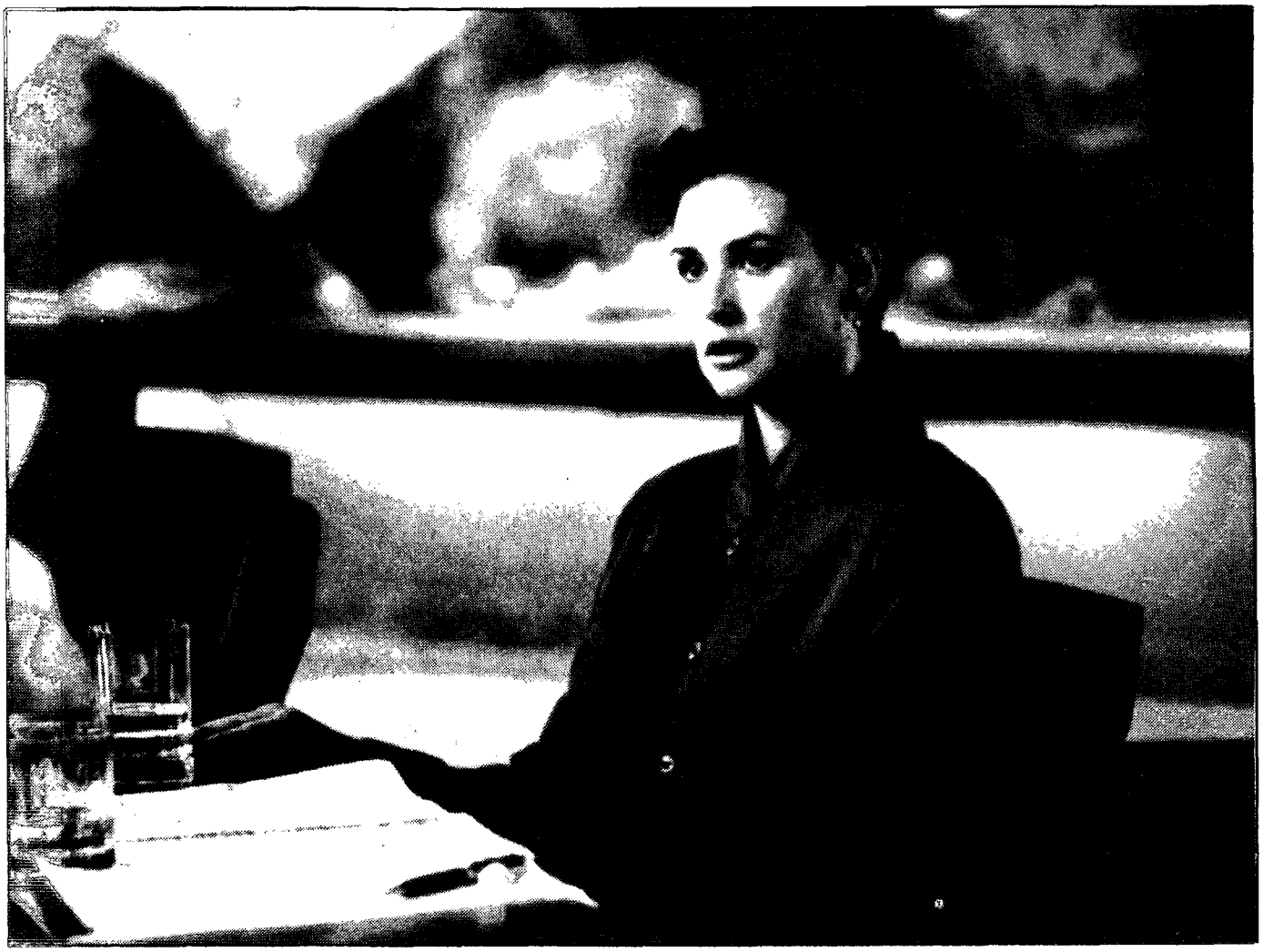
Sexual harassment is not about sex, it's about power—as one of Douglas' female co-workers reminds him. But the movie has already undercut that truth with its glossy depiction of the harassment. Moore's character is, after all, an old girlfriend who invites the married Douglas up to her office after work. (To add to the general unsavoriness of the scene, she's just gotten the promotion he was expecting.) There she offers him his favorite wine, flirts with him, invites him to give her a backrub (he obliges)—



**Disclosure**
Directed by Barry Levinson



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



and then starts grabbing his crotch. The scene is neither scary nor ugly; it's meant to be glamorous and exciting—with lighting and camera angles that suggest a Playboy video, not a rape. And Douglas is certainly tempted. He is aroused by her improper advances, and only at the last minute withdraws.

When he fights back against her lies, he uses gender equality as a refuge. "No means no," he protests, "isn't that what we tell women?" In appropriating feminist rhetoric, *Disclosure* artfully removes its feminist content. Like the current film *Junior*—in which a pregnant Arnold Schwarzenegger declares, "It's my body, it's my choice," and then chooses to carry his baby to term—*Disclosure* manages to steal an issue from women while at the same time discrediting it. *Disclosure's* male surrogate not only announces that sexual harassment happens to men, but also demonstrates that the victim is somehow culpable as well, a victim whose body responded to sexual assault with sexual arousal.

The fact mostly likely to linger in the mind is that The Woman Lied. Moore's character is a predator of such breathtaking perfidy that audiences actually boo her, and the filmmakers seem uneasily eager to compensate by peppering the plot with good witches to offset the misogyny embodied in their wicked sister. But even this strategy oddly backfires: surrounded by women good and bad, with a female lawyer defending him and a woman executive pulling the backstage strings, Douglas seems to live in a world ruled by the hand that rocks the cradle.

People who say *Disclosure* is not about sexual harassment are right, but not in the way they think. It's about who controls the narrative of our culture. Even in its very pretense to irrelevancy—the claim that it's just entertainment and not really *about* sexual harassment—*Disclosure* undertakes a political project, making the implicit assertion that the issue itself is a trivial matter, fit mostly to hang a blockbuster on.

And its primary matter is, as star Michael Douglas keeps saying in interviews, power. It's about the power of men, who in movies today are the victims who know how to fight back. Millions of women may suffer sexual harassment in silence, or fight long, lonely battles with no victory in sight. The unspoken assumption in *Disclosure* is that only men can do victimhood right; only they have the balls to fight injustice and win. That's what comebacks are all about. ◀



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

IN PRINT

# the best books of 1994 (and a few of the worst)

## James Weinstein

Two of my favorite books this year go a long way toward explaining how and why the world socialist movement lost its moorings in the last half of this century. Neither book deals directly, or theoretically, with this subject, which may seem arcane to many readers. But both volumes provide profound if indirect insights into the collapse of the left at home and abroad.

Adam Hochschild's *The Unquiet Ghost* (Viking) is a horrifying and wondrous book about the experience (and the profound aftereffects) of Stalinism. (Excerpted in *ITT*, April 4.) Hochschild, who spent a year in Russia in 1991, traveled widely just when the authorities were loosening restrictions on foreigners for the first time.

He was the first American to see the inside of the KGB headquarters and to read the files of men and women arrested and executed during the purges of the 1930s. He also got to spend a weekend at Stalin's favorite dacha in Georgia—where Stalin's housekeeper told him fascinating stories about the dictator's paranoia. And he was the first to travel to the vast gulag of Kolyma in northeastern Siberia, a frozen hell (approximately the size of France) that was governed by the NKVD, the KGB's predecessor. Rich in gold, it became a gigantic slave labor camp where more than a million prisoners starved or froze to death slaving in the mines.

Everywhere Hochschild went he interviewed both victims and, where possible, their captors. Eliciting from them stories that recreate the terror of the time, he provides historical context to make as much sense as can be made of these events. I have read the book through twice, and still am gripped by many of the awesome stories he relates, marveling at the extraordinary humanity of the survivors he describes.

I learned much as well from *The Private Life of Chairman Mao* (Random House), the memoir of Mao's personal doctor, Li Shisui, who for 21 years was the person most closely involved in the Chairman's life. The book presents a unique picture of a man who held more power, over more people, for a longer period of time, than anyone else in the history of the world. Li discloses the most intimate secrets of Mao's private life, revealing both his promiscuous sexual activity and the reasons for its particular form. And he relates why and how Mao decided to pursue policies like the great leap forward and the cultural revolution, seemingly without concern for the effects they would have on millions of his subjects. This is a long and at times tedious book, but it is well worth the effort.

Li's account provides a startling view of the pre-modern, semi-feudal xenophobic mind of one of this century's most influential leaders. Like Hochschild's book, this memoir provides profound insight into the ways in which socialist politics and culture were deformed when the first great revolutions made in Marx's name occurred in countries that had not experienced capitalist modernization or the struggles for democracy that accompany it.

*Strange Justice: The Selling of Clarence Thomas* (Houghton Mifflin) brings us closer to home—and, in a way, to the recent congressional elections. The book, by *Wall Street Journal* reporters Jane Mayer and Jill Abramson, tells the story of Anita Hill's confrontation with Thomas during his Supreme Court confirmation hearings. But while the authors explore Hill's charges and dig into the evidence that supports them, the book is less about the dramatic confrontation than it is about the Bush administration and the senators on the Judiciary Committee. It is a story about the fawning cowardice of committee chairman Sen. Joseph Biden (D-DE), the dishonesty of Thomas' sponsor, Sen. John C. Danforth (R-MO), and above all the administration's unethical and at times illegal machinations.

The most interesting part of the book for me is the description of the manipulation of the media and of political organizations (such as the NAACP and the National Bar Association, a black version of the American Bar Association), by administration leaders determined to get their man on the Court. To do this, fictitious groups called the African-American Freedom Alliance and the Coalition for the Restoration of the Black Family were founded and financed by white Christian fundamentalists, working hand in hand with the White House. These groups ran full-page ads in black newspapers nationwide in a successful effort to neutralize African-American opinion and sow confusion in the ranks of the country's black leadership.

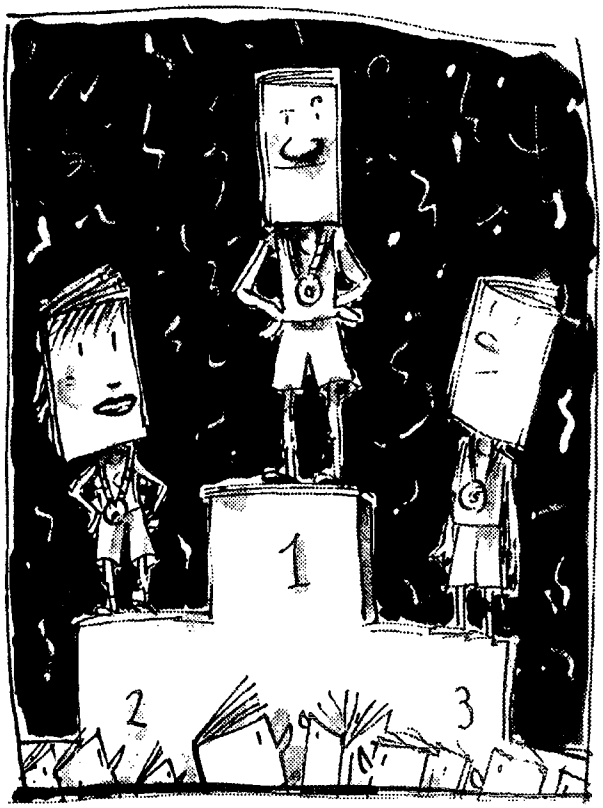
The book is rich in detailed explorations not only of Thomas' and Hill's backgrounds, but also of the politics of the committee and the reasons why the Democrats did not stand up for their professed principles. It provides a fascinating and important look into the cynicism and corruption of official Washington.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

## David Moberg

In the wake of NAFTA and GATT, more and more Americans are becoming aware of how the forces of the global economy shape employment, politics, culture and daily life. There is no better introductory field guide to this new realm than *Global Dreams: Imperial Corporations and the New World Order* by Richard J. Barnet and John Cavanagh (Simon & Schuster). They discuss the new world order—where nation-states are losing power to multinational corporations with no sense of responsibility beyond their bottom lines—in terms of global images (entertainment and mass communications), the global shopping mall, the global workplace and global finance. The authors focus on particular corporations as paradigms for each sector: Sony and Bertelsman, Philip Morris, Ford and Citibank. Though some of the tales are familiar, the authors manage to add new details to show how this worldwide corporate culture has been fashioned. But they conclude that this is a fundamentally unstable system, with many people left out and with most who are included in some way deprived of a means to a satisfying life. No supranational force has emerged to replace the weakened national governments, but the "myth of nationalism" has proven virulently resilient. While they hold out hope for a movement for a "globalization from below" to counter the multinationals, the book raises more questions than answers. But the issues addressed in this book are among the most important facing the world in the coming decades.




ILLUSTRATION©1994PETER HANNAN

## Salim Muwakkil

Nathan McCall's *Makes Me Wanna Holler: A Young Black Man in America* (Random House), tops my list of 1994's best books. (See *ITT*, May 16.) Chronicling a life caught in the powerful undercurrents of self-destruction, this book tells a moving tale of decline and redemption. McCall, a metropolitan reporter for the *Washington Post*, helps us understand how so many African-American youth fall under the spell of outlaw culture. But instead of easy answers or grand schemes, he illuminates the issues through a narrative as rich as it is seamless. Similarly eloquent is *Parallel Time: Growing Up in Black and White* (Pantheon Books), by *New York Times* editorial writer Brent Staples, which presents another angle of vision on the lives and times of young black men. (See *ITT*, May 16.)

Tricia Rose's study of hip-hop, *Black Noise* (Wesleyan University Press), combines the passion of a fan with the scholarship of a new jack academic to produce the definitive word, thus far, on this enormously popular musical genre. Also on the hip-hop tip is a feisty little book entitled *Bomb The Suburbs: Graffiti, Freight-Hopping, Race and the Search for Hip-hop's Moral Center* (Subway and Elevated Press of Chicago), by white hip-hop enthusiast William "Upski" Wimsatt. (Excerpted in *ITT*, Sept. 19) Though modest in aspiration, the tiny volume does much to probe the ironic intersections between race and culture in the quintessential American city of Chicago. Also noteworthy is *Making Malcolm: The Myth & Meaning of Malcolm X* (Oxford University Press), by Michael Eric Dyson—yet another solid offering from a writer equally at home with the languages of the academy and of the street.

## Pat Aufderheide

In *The Black Atlantic* (Harvard University Press), black British scholar Paul Gilroy challenges us to rethink issues of cultural identity and democratic cultural practice in a way I found most engaging. Because the experience of slavery has been segregated out of the political analysis of modernity, he suggests, we have been saddled both with the narrow essentialist attitudes of Afrocentism and a cramped democratic imagination on the part of white European and American intellectuals.

I have also rejoiced in the reincarnation of the quarterly *Transition* (Oxford University Press). Orlando Patterson's brilliant essay (issue #62) on the "poisoned" gender relations among African-Americans in the wake of the Thomas hearings is a must-read. So is an interview with poet June



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Jordan (#63), who provocatively challenges the identity politics so prevalent today on the left.

As a journalist and teacher, I was delighted by graphic designer Kevin Barnhurst's *Seeing the Newspaper* (St. Martin's), and more delighted still to see that it won this year's Lowell Mellett award for journalistic criticism. His savvy semiotic dissection of daily newspapers' graphic and visual conventions makes it clear that graphic decisions are ideological ones.

And it was a great pleasure to savor *A Sense of Place, A Sense of Time* (Yale University Press), a new collection of essays by the precise, acerbic and always perceptive writer on landscape, John Brinckerhoff Jackson. Jackson enjoys exploring the ways that people willy-nilly create and change landscapes, in the process opening our eyes to the ordinary scenery around us as a social expression and prodding us to rethink well-worn grudges.

# David Futrelle

Leave it to Janet Malcolm to reinvent every topic she touches. The latest book by this most contentious and controversial meta-journalist, *The Silent Woman* (Knopf), returns to a favorite theme in her writing (and, not coincidentally, in her life), the complex dialectical dance of betrayal and forgiveness. The book is less a meditation on Sylvia Plath (its ostensible subject) than an artful deconstruction of the elusive art of biography itself—and is a fascinating read even if the ongoing literary debates over the life and death of Plath herself have left you cold.

I was also most impressed with two books I reviewed in these pages: Katha Pollitt's *Reasonable Creatures* (Knopf), a collection of *The Nation* columnist's always challenging essays on subjects ranging from fetal rights to the politics of the canon (see *ITT*, Oct. 3); and James William Gibson's *Warrior Dreams: Paramilitary Culture in Post-Vietnam America* (Hill and Wang), an impassioned and eloquent dissertation on the perils of contemporary American masculinity. (See *ITT*, April 4.)

So much for the stocking stuffers—on to the lumps of coal. This was a banner year for terrible books. And while I haven't read the most obvious contenders for Worst Book—Herrnstein and Murray's moronic *The Bell Curve*; Dan Quayle's *Standing Firme* (er, *Firm*); Camille Paglia's self-love-fest *Vamps and Tramps*—I have found a few books worthy of special mention. No one but a masochist could take real pleasure in Naomi Wolf's excruciating *Fire With Fire* (Random House) (See *ITT*, Aug. 8), a book Wolf undoubtedly spent more time and energy publicizing than she did writing. And Gloria Steinem's *Moving Beyond Words* (Simon and Schuster) featured a would-be-parody of Freud so painfully belabored it literally made me wince.

I would also like to give a special *ITT* award for most improved Christmas books section to our fellow-travelers at the *American Spectator*. After chiding them last year for the extreme solipsism of many of their recommendations, I note happily that this year *not one* of the contributors suggests his own book as the ideal holiday gift. Given the nature of some of the suggestions (Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations*; the Red Cross First Aid Manual), one does still get the impression that few of the contributors have actually *read* any books in the last year: But the Spectators clearly are trying. Oddly enough, the erudite pinko Christopher Hitchens makes an appearance among the contributors. In keeping with the magazine's bent for eccentric anachronism, though, his selection for best book is George Eliot's *Middlemarch*.

# George Hodak

As the postwar economic boom becomes an ever more distant memory, and Europe's parties of the left lurch to the center, shedding inherited commitments along the way, signs of progressive—dare I say socialist?—renewal aren't terribly easy to detect. There is life out there on the left, however, as Hilary Wainwright demonstrates in her latest book, *Arguments for a New Left* (Blackwell). Wainwright gives a good overview of various new social movements in Europe, ranging from trade unionist organizations to the women's movement to environmental groups—while also providing an incisive challenge, on the terrain of ideas, to the free-market right. The author, a research associate at Manchester University, is also the political editor of *Red Pepper*, an impressive journal launched earlier this year in England. (*Red Pepper*, 3 Gunthorpe St., London E1 7RP.)

Gregory Elliott's *Labourism and the English Genius* (Verso) provides an excellent history of the Labour Party, which now (due less perhaps to its own merits and more to the exhaustion of the bitterly divided Tories) appears likely to emerge from the political wilderness it has languished in since 1979. But, as Elliott points out, being in government does not necessarily translate into actual power, particularly in a country as archaic and undemocratic as Britain.

I also heartily recommend the multitalented German writer Hans Magnus Enzensberger's new collection of essays, *Civil Wars: From L.A. to Bosnia* (New Press). Enzensberger's acerbic vision may seem a bit bleak to some, but then again things probably seem pretty bleak to the inhabitants of Bosnia. Two other books I recommend are Aziz Al-Azmeh's *Islams and Modernities* (Verso), a brilliant study of the varieties of Islamism, and Régis Debray's *Charles de Gaulle: Futurist of the Nation* (Verso), which is, in part, a curious homage to the last of France's "philosopher-kings." This book is not likely to go down well with veterans of May '68, but even in this most peculiar of political incarnations Debray is worth reading.

*Continued on page 36*



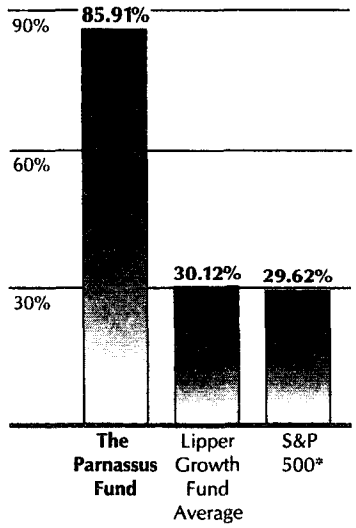
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

IRA Transfers

# When You're Only No. 2, You Have To Try Harder

THE PARNASSUS FUND

**Total Returns**
For three years ending 9/30/94




** The Standard & Poor's 500 is an unmanaged index of the common stocks of 500 companies.*

**The Parnassus Fund's Average Annual Total Returns**
For Periods ending 9/30/94
Fund inception was 12/31/84




For the three years ending September 30, 1994, the Parnassus Fund had the second best total return of the 271 growth funds in the country according to Lipper Analytical Services. (For the one-year period, we were ranked no. 9 out of 455 growth funds and for the five-year period, we were ranked no. 17 out of 216 funds.) For the three years, the Parnassus Fund earned a total of 85.91% which is equivalent to an average annual total return of 22.96%.

The Parnassus Fund goes against the established wisdom of Wall Street. It follows a "contrarian" policy of investing in stocks that are out of favor with the financial community and are, therefore, undervalued. We hope to achieve attractive returns if these companies bounce back and regain favor with investors.

The companies we invest in also practice corporate social responsibility. They're firms that treat their employees well and recognize that environmental protection makes economic sense. We think you'll be proud to own the companies in our portfolio.

So if you're interested in this kind of investment, consider the Parnassus Fund. Since we're only no. 2, we'll try harder to make your money grow.

Past performance is no guarantee of future results. Investment return and principal will fluctuate so that an investor's shares, when redeemed, may be worth more or less than their original cost. The Parnassus Fund charges a maximum sales charge of 3.5% and Lipper rankings based on total return do not take the sales charge into account although the total return figures quoted in this advertisement do. For more complete information including management fees, charges and expenses, call or write the Fund at the address below for a current prospectus. Read it carefully before you invest or send money.

THE PARNASSUS FUND
800-999-3505

Distributed by Parnassus Financial Management 244 California Street, San Francisco, California 94111



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

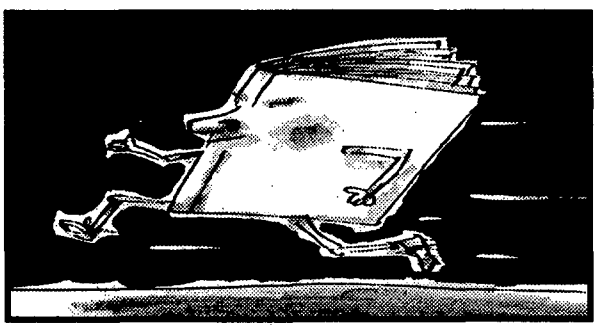
*Continued from page 34*

# Pat Dowell

Susan Jeffords writes about "Hollywood masculinity in the Reagan era" in a sharp little book called *Hard Bodies* (Rutgers University Press). (See *ITT*, April 4.) She makes political sense of the new action-adventure formula offered up in the '80s by Stallone and Schwarzenegger (and their political equivalent Reagan) as a representation of the national body as male and muscled in both metaphor and policy. Then she offers an even more tantalizing look at the transition that followed with Bush, examining the apparent critiques of American machismo found in anti-rape movies *The Accused* and *Casualties of War*—and seeing in them stories that obliquely target the influence of organized outgroups such as minorities, gays, and women. It's a provocative book, and one of the best on the current hot topic in film studies, masculinity.

# Ilan Stavans

My favorite books of 1994 include Ricardo Piglia's sophisticated, *Artificial Respiration* (Duke University Press), which ingenuously revisits and reformulates Argentine fiction from Domingo Faustino Sarmiento to Borges; and David Grossman's *The Book of Intimate Grammar* (Farrar, Straus & Giroux), a book by a man who, in spite of his young age, is already proving himself as the most significant Israeli writer today. I found great joy as well in Irving Howe's posthumous *A Critic's Notebook* (Harcourt Brace), and was both entertained and outraged by Camille Paglia's second collection of essays, *Vamps and Tramps* (Vintage).



David Levering Lewis' admirable *W.E.B. Du Bois: Biography of a Race: 1868-1919* (Henry Holt) intertwines high-caliber scholarship and an engaging style to describe Du Bois' life from his beginnings in Great Barrington, Mass., up to the end of World War I.

Other highlights of the year were the Portuguese master Jose Saramago's surreal novel *The Gospel According to Jesus Christ* (Harcourt Brace); and the Dominican-American Julia Alvarez's *In the Time of the Butterflies* (Algonquin Books of Chapel Hill), masterfully portraying a crucial moment in Caribbean history when, in November 1960, Trujillo's repressive regime assassinated three outspoken women, the Mirabal sisters, also known as *Las Mariposas*, and their car driver. Also memorable was Judith Ortiz Cofer's *The Latin Deli* (University of Georgia Press), a collection of prose and poetry by this most talented Puerto Rican writer. (See *ITT*, July 25.)

As for rereadings: saddened by Elias Canetti's death, I felt the urge to reread *Auto-da-fe* (Seabury Press) and enjoyed its lucid, nightmarish style every bit as much as when I first discovered it in the early '80s; and I returned to Oscar "Zeta" Acosta's *The Autobiography of a Brown Buffalo* (Vintage), an important memoir written in "Gonzo style" about growing up Chicano in Texas and California.

# Scott McLemee

American culture is, in the deepest sense, black. I say that not to make some guilty white-guy leftist's craven gesture of self-hatred, but simply because it is true—and because the writer whose work taught me that truth, Ralph Ellison, died this past year. His mind and his prose were brilliant, elegant, powerful. Two fine books I read in 1994—*American Civilization* by C.L.R. James and *The Black Atlantic* by Paul Gilroy—are strikingly Ellison-like in their visions. So I expect to keep rereading them over the next 10 years, just as I've gone back to *Invisible Man* and *Shadow and Act* over the past 10.

Not long after writing his classic history of the Haitian slave uprising, *The Black Jacobins* (1938), C.L.R. James visited the United States. Written in 1950, *American Civilization* (now reprinted by Blackwell) was James' effort to synthesize his impressions of the country and his study of American history, literature, and popular culture. Writing before the rise of the civil rights or feminist movements, James described the struggles of African-Americans and women as essential to understanding the history and future of the United States. And with its extraordinary chapter on popular entertainment—comics, radio serials and gangster films—*American Civilization* tried to go beyond the narrower understanding of culture shared by most other radicals. Read this book for a good antidote to Newt Gingrich, who extols the virtues of something he, too, calls American Civilization.

*The Black Atlantic* (Harvard University Press) by Paul Gilroy, is a book not to read but to study, carefully and for a long time. The forcible dispersion of black populations by the slave trade, and their complex itinerary since then, have linked up Africa, Europe, the Caribbean and the United States. Through discussions of literature, music, and political thought—including close readings of the work of W.E.B. Du Bois and Richard Wright—Gilroy charts the emergence of a black culture that is neither Eurocentric nor strictly African. It's the sort of book some people will hate: if you are a card-carrying Afrocentrist, or an enthusiast of the Western canon, don't even bother. But for readers who aren't afraid to think, I can't recall a more stimulating scholarly book from this past year or two. ◄



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# CLASSIFIEDS

## HELP WANTED

IN THESE TIMES IS SEEKING a full-time assistant managing editor. Duties include copy editing, solicitation of articles, some writing and various other editorial tasks. Familiarity with In These Times and some political experience or knowledge required. Salary in high teens, including health insurance. Four weeks paid vacation. Call Jim Weinstein or Jim McNeill (312) 772-0100, ext.0. Or send résumé to ITT, 2040 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60647.

IN THESE TIMES IS SEEKING an advertising manager, full or part time to be determined. Aggressive, eager, creative, persistent, responsible types wanted. Salary or commission to be negotiated. Call Claudia Morris (312) 772-0100 ext. 243. Or send résumé to ITT, 2040 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60647.

ORGANIZER to work with unions, church congregations, citizens' groups in Mississippi River communities. Concerns include jobs, health & safety, public services, environment, $22k/yr. EOE. Résumé: Louisiana Labor/Neighbor Project, 8841 Bluebonnet Ave., #C, Baton Rouge, LA 70810; (504) 769-7939.

SEARCH FOR COLLABORATOR-PARTNER. Books tentatively titled: *Cost of the (Unnecessary) Cold War—In Dollars, Lives and Democratic Institutions* and *Mass Murders of the 20th Century*. Write Aronson, 5820 Bikini Way So., St. Petersburg, FL 33706.

UNION ORGANIZERS: National labor union seeks organizing directors/lead organizers to perform a central role in building a progressive industrial union. Must be able to recruit, train and direct the work of other organizers in large campaigns or regional organizing programs. Minimum two years' organizing experience with a solid record of helping workers to form unions. Must be willing to relocate or travel. Salary negotiable, excellent fringe benefits. Send résumé to OCAW-SPD, P.O. Box 281200, Lakewood, CO 80228.

PENDULUM CO-OP helping start worker-owned co-ops. For more information send SASE to P.O. Box 24610, Baltimore, MD 21214.

FREE HELP FINDING EMPLOYMENT, Worker Co-op Employment Service (non-profit). For more info. send SASE to P.O. Box 2410, Baltimore, MD 21214.

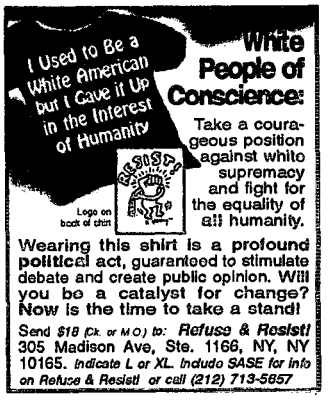
COMMUNITY JOBS: The Employment Newspaper for the Non-Profit Sector. Join over 50,000 job-seekers in reading a unique monthly publication containing more than 200 new job listings (in Environment, Arts, International, Health, Youth, Civil Rights, Housing, Human Services, etc.). Featuring informative articles, book reviews, resource lists, profiles of non-profit organizations and the people who found them. Contact: Community Jobs, 30 Irving Place Fl. 9, New York, NY 10003-2303.

FUND RAISER, self-starter, some experience, for labor-oriented civil liberties organization. Capable later of leadership responsibilities. Send résumé, salary needs: Association for Union Democracy, 500 State Street, Brooklyn, NY 11217.

## PUBLICATIONS

THE OLD FART: A magazine for and by curmudgeons. Send $10 check for a one-year subscription to this quarterly publication to: Box 83509, 199 Avenue Rd. Toronto, Canada M5R 352 (Tel/FAX 416-975-2614) or send $20, one for yourself and one for your favorite curmudgeon.

MAKE PEOPLE LAUGH LIKE NEVER BEFORE! Stay healthier-happier! Professional humor secrets/tips. Free

Wearing this shirt is a profound political act, guaranteed to stimulate debate and create public opinion. Will you be a catalyst for change? Now is the time to take a stand!
Send $18 (Ck. or M.O.) to: Refuse & Resist! 305 Madison Ave, Ste. 1166, NY, NY 10165. Indicate L or XL. Indudo SASE for info on Refuse & Resist! or call (212) 713-5657

CHIAPAS
CHALLENGING HISTORY
INDIGENOUS VIEWPOINTS ON THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTHERN MEXICO
SPECIAL EDITION OF AKWE:KON JOURNAL. SINGLE ISSUE: $14.00 PPD. ONE YEAR SUBSCRIPTION: $18.00 (U.S.) CHECK/VISA/MC TO: 300-IT CALDWELL HALL, CORNELL UNIVERSITY, ITHACA, NY 14853

RARE VIDEO
Discover FACETS VIDEO's astonishing collection of 20,000 foreign, classic American, silent, documentary, fine arts and children's videos and laser dicks that you will simply *not* find anywhere else. Purchase or rent by mail.
FACETS VIDEO, 1517 W. Fullerton, Chicago 60614
FREE SAMPLER CATALOG: 1-800-331-6197

Imperialism, Inner-Cities, Activism, Feminism, etc...
Free catalog:
**Real Books**
1518 W. Thorndale,
Chicago, IL 60660

JEWISH CURRENTS
December, 1994 issue
"Keep Focus on Peace Process" editorial; "A Christmas Tree in Montefiore," Richard D. Bank; "Ukrainian Pogroms, 1919-20," Gerald Stillman; poems by Dora Teitelboim and Meyer-Zimmel Tkatch; "Shimon Peres in Philadelphia."
Single issue: $3.
Subscription: $30 yearly (USA).
JEWISH CURRENTS
Dept. T, Suite 601
22 E. 17 St., New York, NY 10003

NOAM CHOMSKY ON VIDEO
Concentrated Power and Human Rights: Parts 1 & 2
Includes lecture, Q&A, & interview on Pt. 2.
2 tapes: two hours each.
$10.00 plus
$3.00 shipping per tape.
Other titles available.
**Check or money order to:**
**TURNING THE TIDE**
**PO Box 631**
**Wilton, NH 03086**
**Phone: 603-654-2672**
Free Catalog available includes Bookchin, Parenti, Zinn, many others.

THE MISTAKES OF JESUS
by WILLIAM FLOYD
First published in 1933, this classic and candid probe of the New Testament points out the inconsistencies and unfulfilled promises in the teachings of the "Son of God." With many references to biblical passages, the author deftly shows that the Nazarene "has caused so much fear and mental suffering" by his erroneous ideas, i.e., "Jesus has misled us."
Abridged papercover, $6.00 ppd. (USA only)
INDEPENDENT PUBLICATIONS, Box 102, Ridgefield, New Jersey 07657




LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Information! FUNNYBIZ-TT, 9551 Riverview, Eden Prairie, MN 55347.

ANARCHIST COOKBOOK $30. Uncensored edition! Underground book catalog $2. FS Book Company, P.O. Box 417457, Dept. IN, Sacramento, CA 95841—7457.

## ▶ BOOKS

CAXTON BOOKSEARCH. Box 220, Ellison Bay, WI 54210. We'll order or search any book. (800) 288-7724.

## ▶ CALENDARS

CAT LOVERS AGAINST THE BOMB 1995 wall calendar, $7.95 plus $1.25 postage. An excellent holiday gift for your feline loving friends. Order from: Nebraskans for Peace, 129 N. 10th St., Rm 426A, Lincoln, NE 68508 or call (402) 475-4620. VISA/MC orders call (402) 437-6238.

**PENISES OF THE ANIMAL KINGDOM**
Comparative anatomy chart 23" x 35" depicts the male copulatory organs of several animals from man to whale. Features the fingerlike appendage of the porpoise penis, the extended urethra of the giraffe and many other genitological oddities. A lithograph of rare quality suitable for framing, ideal as an educational resource, decoration for home or office or unique gift. $8.95 + $2 for p & h to Scientific Novelty Co. Box 673-M2 Bloomington IN 47402. Delivery by Christmas on request for orders received by 12/21

**GOOD VIBRATIONS**



Friendly, informative catalogs of sex toys, books & videos, $4.
1210 Valencia #IT
San Francisco, CA
94110

## ▶ CATALOGS

FREE CATALOG. Fantasy stickers, signs, notecards, address labels. TK, Box N-1951, Baltimore, MD 21203.

## ▶ SPANISH

CENTRO MAYA DE IDIOMAS: Indigenous men/women-owned collective in Guatemalan Highlands offers immersion Spanish/Maya language studies. Five hours daily individual instruction, complete R&B, $110 weekly. Call (817) 696-3319.

## ▶ FOR RENT

CHICAGO–SMALL OFFICE SPACE available for business or personal use. $150/month includes utilities. Use of office equipment negotiable. Call Jim Weinstein at (312) 772-0100.



*You can learn more* **Spanish** *reading the news*
◆ World news monthly
◆ Intermediate Spanish
◆ Bilingual glossary
◆ $25 subscription
EDUCATIONAL NEWS SERVICE
Box 60478-ITT, Florence, MA 01060
◆ Ask about: *Standpunkt* in German
**1-800-600-4494**
**Free Brochure**

## ▶ PERSONALS

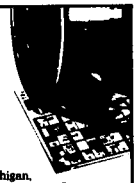
OPEN RELATIONSHIPS, GROUP MARRIAGE, intimate friendship. Interested? Discreetly contact others. SASE for details. Current issue $4.00. Touchpoint, P.O. Box 408-TT1, Chloride, AZ 86431.

CONCERNED SINGLES NEWSLETTER links compatible, socially conscious singles who care about peace, social justice, racism, gender equity and the environment. Nationwide. Since 1984. All ages. Free sample: Box 555-T, Stockbridge, MA 01262.

## ▶ MISCELLANEOUS

"NO NEWT IS GOOD NEWT"—Suffering from NEWTmares? Bumper Sticker—1/$3, 4/$10. Gin/Gold, POB 74-T, Midpines, CA 95345.

**This publication is available in microform from University Microfilms International.**



Call toll-free 800-521-3044. In Michigan, Alaska and Hawaii call collect 313-761-4700. Or mail inquiry to: University Microfilms International, 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106.

**Concerned Singles Newsletter**
links compatible singles who care about peace, social justice, gender equity, racism, and the environment.
*Nationwide*
*All ages • Since 1984*
FREE SAMPLE: Box 555-T,
Stockbridge, Massachusetts 01262

## Bad Subjects

***Political Education for Everyday Life.***
A FREE zine available WORLDWIDE on the Internet. *Bad Subjects* is an effort to revitalize American leftist politics by challenging its orthodoxies and focusing on the political dimensions of our everyday lives. Articles have covered Hong Kong action movies, malls, Rush Limbaugh, critiques of multiculturalism. U.S. Christian right politics, sexual preferences, contemporary Marxism and much, much more. Find us in gopherspace: uclink.berkeley.edu (port 52673).
Our Website: URL http://english-server.hss.cmu.edu/BadSubjects.html
email /snail mail : bad@uclink.berkeley.edu/322 Wheeler Hall, UC Berkeley, Berkeley, CA 94720.

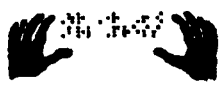
Sierra Leone FACE ON MARS stamps sets. Rare, first issue–steadily increasing in value. 3 sets available. $6,000 each or all 3 for $15,000. (602) 230-5272.

BARGAIN HOMES - Foreclosed, HUD, VA, S&L Bailout properties. Low Down. Fantastic savings. Call 1-800-513-4343 Ext. H-2440 for list.

OUR CHOICES CONTROL THE FUTURE
*JOIN THE MOVEMENT* for ratification of the CONSTITUTION FOR THE FEDERATION OF EARTH, which outlaws all weapons of mass destruction and provides for a global economic system, non-polluting energy systems, and protection of the earth and oceans.
*VOTE TO STOP ALL FUTURE WARS.* Circumvent the military-industrial complex! Switch from planning battles to planting trees, cultivating phytoplankton and re-mineralizing soils so crops can grow.
*ELECT A WORLD PARLIAMENT* that will focus on providing adequate food, shelter, health care, education and a clean environment for all.
*HELP ACHIEVE THIS NON-VIOLENT GLOBAL REVOLUTION* with a $10 donation. Or send $20 to receive the CONSTITUTION FOR THE FEDERATION OF EARTH. Mail to: World Constitution and Parliament Association, 1480 Hoyt Street, Suite 31, Lakewood, CO 80215. For information call: 1-800-308-9538.

**BECOME A MINISTER AND START A TAX EXEMPT CHURCH!**
Perfectly legal in all states. Find out how! Write for FREE information. Send a LSASE to:
REV. JAMES L. BARBER
25 LOMBARDY DR. • SHIRLEY, NY 11967

**Our Right To Know Braille Press, Inc.**



For blind and print-handicapped persons, FII - FREEDOM IDEAS INTERNATIONAL, a quarterly review of minority and independent publications, includes selected articles from IN THESE TIMES. Produced by Our Right to Know Braille Press, Inc., on 4-track 15/16 ips cassette tape. A 4-issue subscription costs $5.
**The Our Right to Know Braille Press, Inc.**
640 Bayside, Detroit, MI 48217
(313) 842-1804

## IN THESE TIMES Classified Ads Work Like Your Own Sales Force.

| Word Rates: | Display Inch Rates: |
|---|---|
| 95¢ per word / 1-2 issues | $30 per inch / 1-2 issues |
| 85¢ per word / 3-5 issues | $28 per inch / 3-5 issues |
| 80¢ per word / 6-9 issues | $26 per inch / 6-9 issues |
| 75¢ per word / 10-19 issues | $24 per inch / 10-19 issues |
| 65¢ per word / 20 + issues | $22 per inch / 20 + issues |

Classified ads must be prepaid. Send your copy, coupon and payment to:
**IN THESE TIMES, Classified Ads,**
**2040 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60647.**

Enclosed is my check for $_____ for _____ issue(s).

Please indicate desired heading _____

Advertiser _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

*Continued from page 40*

tism; it was a tasteless McDonald's hamburger in a land of culinary variety; homogeneity in diversity. And here I was, ready to change America from within. Change is what every immigrant longs for, only because every immigrant is at once an end and a beginning. Mexico, with its disdain for debate, was a suffocating place for me to grow up. So I began looking for Utopia. And ultimately, Utopia meant America, the place where dreaming has always been a national pastime. I invoked the concept of Manifest Destiny and knew right away what Robert Frost had meant when he stated that this land was ours before we were the land's. It was certainly mine before I dared to know it.

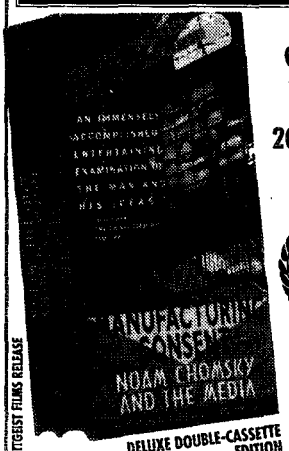
Sacrifices, I made plenty of them. Aren't they the token every immigrant must pay? My past is full of farewells, letters stained with nostalgia, and a sense of standing on shaky ground. As many others in that arena, I left behind love and security and embraced uncertainty and an accent-stained speech. I spent sleepless nights teaching myself English, repeatedly defeated by the stubborn grammar of Shakespeare's tongue.

"...One Nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all." As we all uttered that last sentence of the Pledge of Allegiance, I felt a strange pride; pride of my new self, pride to be part of a nation born of an Idea. Never before in my life had I felt a sense of pride in my own country.

And that same pride overwhelmed me this past November, when I cast my first ballot as a U.S. citizen, knowing for the first time in my life that my vote would matter. I hadn't felt so sure of myself for a long time. Takah! Takah! Sooner or later immigrants, illegal or otherwise, find their place at the heart of the American dream. ◀

**Ilan Stavans**, a novelist and critic, teaches at Amherst College. *Bandido: Oscar "Zeta" Acosta & the Chicano Experience* (HarperCollins), his latest book in English, will be published in the fall of 1995. He is currently editing *The Oxford Book of Latin American Essays.*

THE ACCLAIMED DOCUMENTARY
NOW ON HOME VIDEO
MANUFACTURING CONSENT
NOAM CHOMSKY
AND THE MEDIA




DELUXE DOUBLE-CASSETTE EDITION

A Riveting Glimpse into the Mind of One of the 20th Century's Greatest Thinkers

WINNER OF FIFTEEN INTERNATIONAL AWARDS

$59.95 + $6.95 S/H

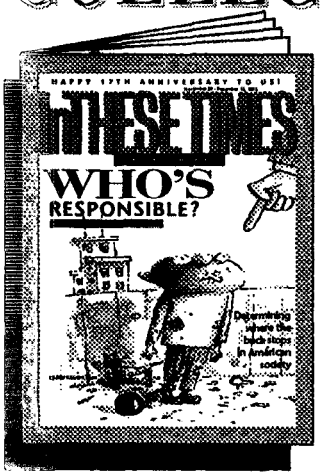
A ZEITGEIST FILMS RELEASE

"Watch out for this film... It can make you think." –RALPH NADER

To Order Call 1-800-MANU-CON

A companion book to the film is available for an additional $19.99 + S/H

Complete the COLLECTION.




Do your local library and bookstore carry *Time? Newsweek? U.S. News and World Report? The National Review? Commentary? The American Spectator?*

**What about *In These Times?***

You know the importance of *ITT*'s commitment to questioning mainstream news sources and digging for the truth.

*In These Times* provides an invaluable perspective on today's events, but we may not be available in your community.

**You can put us there.** Just ask for *ITT* at your local bookstore and library, or consider offering your library a gift subscription to *ITT*.

For subscription information, call 1-800-827-0270.

U.S. POSTAL SERVICE
STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION

1A) In These Times. 1B) 01605992. 2) Oct. 1, 1994. 3) Bi-weekly. 3A) 26 3B) $34.95 4) 2040 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, (Cook Co.), IL 60647-4002. 5) 2040 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, (Cook Co.), IL 60647-4002. 6) James Weinstein, 2040 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, (Cook Co.), IL 60647-4002; James Weinstein, 2040 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, (Cook Co.), IL 60647-4002; Miles Harvey, 2040 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, (Cook Co.), IL 60647-4002. 7) Institute for Public Affairs (non-profit organization), 2040 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, (Cook Co.), IL 60647-4002. 8) None. 9) Has not changed during preceding 12 months. 10A) 25,185; 20,703 10B/1) 2,114; 2,565 10B/2) 21,500; 17,263 10C) 23,614; 19,828 10D) 762; 277 10E) 24,376; 20,105 10F/1) 491; 327 10F/2) 318; 271 10G) 25,185; 20,703 11) (signed) Robert Larson, Business Manager.

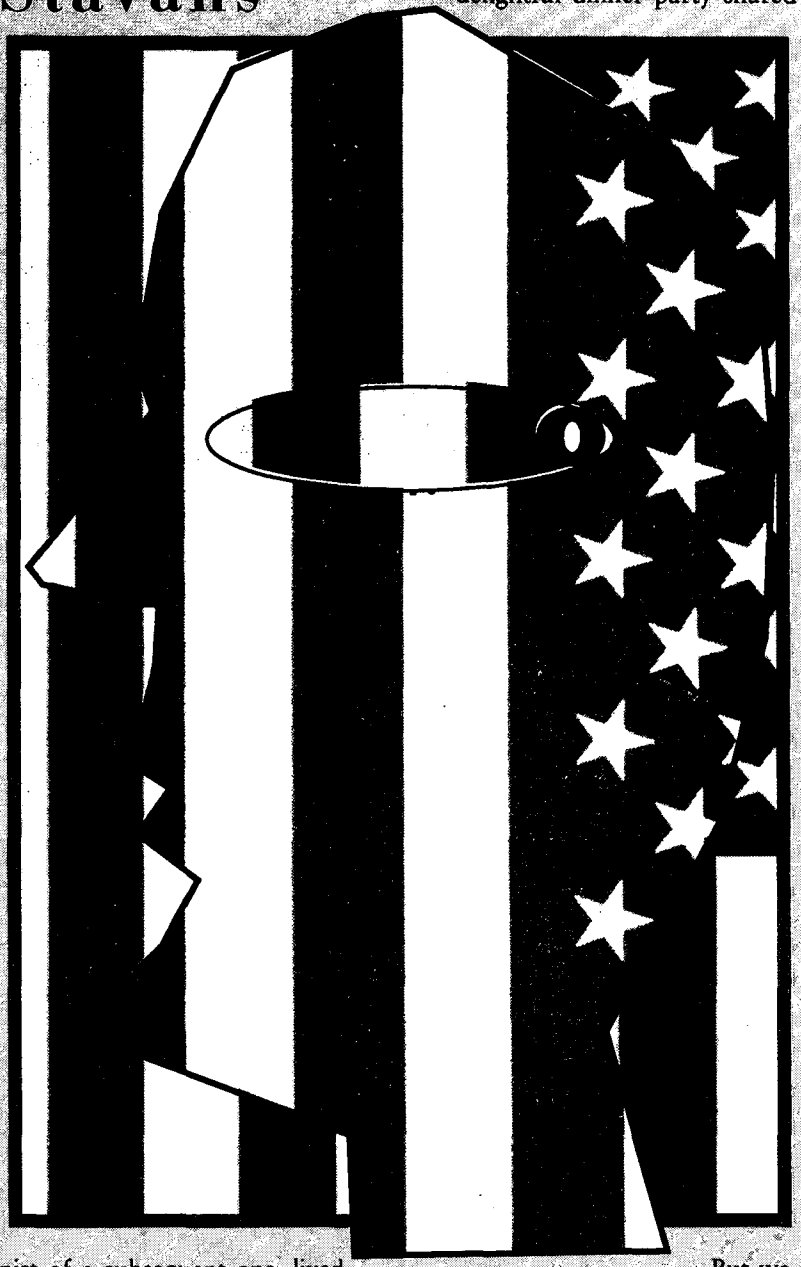


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

IN THE END

# On becoming an American

## By Ilan Stavans



We all stood proud and tall that humid summer morning. Together in that Boston arena, more than 2,000 of us from more than a hundred nations around the globe were about to pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States. The atmosphere was festive. Children kissing mothers. Photographs taken from every possible angle. Interpreters struggling to make themselves understood. Red, white and blue everywhere.

Like a movie one cannot view too many times, my whole past came back to me in slow motion, summarized in a handful of condensed, intimate silhouettes. I realized I had reached the end of a long transformation. Alone, my parents and siblings and original friends all left far behind in Mexico, the land of my birth, I was now in the process of acquiring a new identity. A chapter of my life had just concluded and I had become the protagonist of a subsequent one, lived under a different sky and recorded in another tongue. I had consummated the act of reinventing myself: I had become an actor in the theater of immense possibilities.

Months later, my memories of the event still make me shiver. Now that xenophobia is again sweeping the country, as witness California's Proposition 187, and illegal immigrants are portrayed as unworthy of human compassion, the image of all those multicolored people in the arena, old and young, smiling and crying, becomes even more mystifying. America as paradise on earth. In spite of its many handicaps, in spite of its indomitable hatred, in spite of its ethnic wounds and penchant for violence, America for all of us was, and still is, an antechamber to heaven. An inclusive, non-exclusive heaven.

During the ceremony, I overheard someone talk about a delightful dinner party shared the night before. Others seemed anxious to open presents, and the handsome young man behind me couldn't wait to make a long-distance call to the Middle East. A mature Asian lady dropped her umbrella and the person next to me, a Cuban friend with whom I was simultaneously sworn in, picked it up and returned it. In broken English, she gratefully thanked him by saying, "Takah! Takah!" An agreeable expression, I thought—a brand-new addition to the English lexicon. We, new Americans, are now entitled to renew the country and its language.

What unified us all, total strangers together for the first time, was the unequivocal desire to taste the sweetness of democracy. We had left behind us places where social mobility is out of the question, where economic conditions make life almost unbearable, where politicians aren't representative, where words suffer from an unbearable lightness and morality is offensively arbitrary.

But we also had to *re*discover the United States, to overcome and come to terms with the polarized views it transmits beyond its borders. In my own adolescent mind, America exemplified excess and dollars and ego-

*Continued on page 39*

©1994PETER HANNAN



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED